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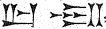
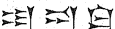
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Contributions towards a Glossary of the Assyrian Language.


BY H. F. TALBOT.

PART III.

292. *Urmakh*. , a Lion.—The meaning of this word is ascertained by four bas-reliefs (see R, plate 7), one of which represents the King pouring a libation on four dead lions before an altar, which he calls *Urmakhi sha adduku*, the lions which I had slain.  *adduku*, is the pluperfect tense; the perfect would be *adduk*, I slew.

The second bas-relief represents a lion seized by the ear and killed with a spear; and the inscription says, *Urmakh* as *uzni-su azbat*, I seized by his ear, as *ashmar esha gati-ya*, and with the spear which was in my hands (I destroyed his life).

The third represents a lion seized by the tail and killed with a mace. The inscription says, *Urmakh*, a Lion, as *kun azbat*, I seized by the tail, as *khatbul esha gati-ya*, and with a mace which was in my hands, *eli-su umatti*, I put him to death. The verb  *umatti*, is no doubt derived from *mut*, death (see No. 239).

The fourth represents warriors spearing lions—unfortunately a great part of this inscription is defaced and illegible. I read however  *illat urmakhi suatunu uparriru* (?), "the rest of those lions they slew." The meaning of *Urmakh* is therefore well established.

I think, however, that the true name of the Lion was *Ur*, as in Hebrew, where it is named *Ari* ארי; and so in Syriac *Aria*;

295. *Aabba*. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, a kind of Camel: probably pronounced *yobba*.—The meaning is ascertained by two epigraphs of the Obelisk.

𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *sha sunai tsiri-sin*, Camels with two humps.

296. *Utrati*. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, Bactrian Camels.—I think this word may be cognate with Pers. *Ustur* a Camel. The meaning is ascertained by the following passages cited by Norris, p. 185:—
VII *utrati sha* 𐎶 𐎶 *gungulipi-sin*, seven Camels having two humps. The other passage is similar.

¶ There is a difficult passage in the third Epigraph of the Obelisk, in which the word 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *pirati* occurs. Perhaps we should read 𐎶 𐎶 instead of 𐎶 𐎶, in which case the word would be *utrati*, and the passage would stand thus: "Tribute of the land of Mutsirri, *aabba sha sunai tsiri-sin; alap nari Sakie itzutu utrati*, Camels with two humps; the tribe of the river Saki call them *utrati*."

In support of this translation I may observe, that the two passages which I have quoted from Norris, p. 185, are a proof that *utrati* were really two-humped camels. I think the Epigraph says that they were so called *by the tribe of the Sacæ*. There is nothing improbable in this, and if my translation is correct, it helps us to find the position of the land of Mutsirri—which will be the territory of the Sacæ, or at any rate somewhere near it.

I am aware that previous translators of this passage have rendered 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Alap* "a Bull," but this gives no satisfactory meaning, and I prefer to view it as being the Hebrew אֵלֶּם *alap* "a tribe" [see Furst's Lex. p. 97]. *Itzutu* or *izutu* 'they call it,' is a frequent verb—it is the Heb. יָצָא, the reduplicate or more forcible form of יָצָא 'to utter.'

297. *Anakati*. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, She Camels. B.M. 68, 2. —This word has the sign 𐎶 "female" prefixed, as well as 𐎶 𐎶 "animal." The word was first recognized by Dr. Hincks and was one of the first proofs given that the Assyrian was a Semitic Language. אֲנָקָה *Camelus fœmina*, Buxtorf, p. 147, and he says more about the word in p. 1387. In modern Arabic a she-camel is *Nakat* without the vowel.

298. **Alap.** 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥, a Bull.—Agrees with the Hebrew אֵלֶם. In Syll. 174 *Alap* is rendered by 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧 which usually means the sacred image of a Bull. The plural is *Alpi* 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩, see 2 R38, 29, where it is rendered by 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩 *ga* "oxen." Mr. Norris (Dict. p. 647) gives a good example of this word from 2 R16, 28, *pan alpi*, 'the front of the oxen,' rendered in P.C. by 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩.
299. **Ga.** 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥, an Ox.—This is a very common word. At first sight it seems an example of an Indo-Germanic word used in Semitic. Sans. *gā, go* (bos). But this supposition is not necessary, for we find the same root in Hebrew.—See Gesenius געה *mugiit* bos.
300. **Am.** 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥, a Buffalo.—A Proto-Chaldean word; in Assyrian *Riema*.
Miri bulhuti sha 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩 *uzabbit*, Young buffaloes I captured alive, R 28, 6; *Anaku kima am ikdi panússun azbat*, I myself like a fiery bull, took the lead (of my army), Sen. T. iii, 74. I believe *ikdi* 'fiery' is the Chald. יקר 'ardens.'
301. **Riema**, a Buffalo. Heb. רִימָה *bubalus*.—*Kima riemi rabi garna-su ittanassi*, like a great buffalo he raised his horn—(tablet 133 otherwise 102b). Of this there is a P.C. version. *Kima riemi rabi*, is rendered *Am rab kim*.
302. **Zini.** 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧, Sheep.—Agrees with the Heb. צֶנֶא or צֶנֶה a flock (either of sheep or goats). *Marsit lu-zini*, the young of sheep, Annals i, 52; see also Obelisk 137 and Tig. vii, 12. Other inscriptions, as R 28, 22, and R 37, 50, write the word in the form 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩.
- ¶ The singular of the word צֶנֶא 'a flock' is צֶנֶה or צֶנֶה 'a sheep;' for which the Ch. and Syr. substitute עֶנֶה, עֶנֶה or עֶנֶה, by a remarkable law of permutation of the letters צ and ע which occur in many other words, as ארע for ארצ (terra), עמר for עמר (lana), &c. This Syriac word עֶנֶה resembles the Greek (accus. case) *Ou* 'a sheep.'
- ¶ The word *Zini* is usually preceded by *Lu*, which appears to mean 'animal;' but sometimes it stands alone, as in one copy of Tig. vii, 12.

303. **Giná.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, a Sheep; plural *ginie* 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 = 𐎶𐎵 Sheep.—I think this word is the Chaldee and Syriac ܥܢܐ, which is equivalent to the Hebrew צֶנֶז (see the preceding article). Instead of the letter *y* *ain* the Arabic substitutes the aspirate *Ghain* in this word [Arab. *Ghanam*, a sheep].

This word occurs in Phill. ii, 36. "Every day I presented eight sheep to the god Nergal." And again ii, 39, *eli ginie labri giná usatir*, to the former sheep I added one sheep more.

¶ Nebuchadnezzar's inscription in the Chaldee of Babylon uses *ginie*; the Assyrian inscriptions of Nineveh use *zini* (No. 302).


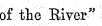



304. **Hukludi.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, Sheep. Chald. ܥܢܠܬܐ. Bellino lines 17, 18, 23 and 31.—The parallel passage in Sen. T. i. 50 and following lines, three times substitutes 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *tsieni* "sheep."

In 2R38, 26 the word *hukludi* seems to be represented by its first syllable 𐎶𐎵 alone. Three explanations are given, one of which is 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Rubutz*. I think this is the Heb. רֹבֵץ a flock of sheep or herd of cattle (properly *lying down*, or feeding in great tranquillity).



305. **Kupi.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, Monkeys.—*Pagie u kupi tarbit saddi sun*, (. . . .) and monkeys, natives of their mountains.—Opp. Eg. p. 79 [part of the plunder of Thebes]. Oppert translates *kupi* by *simias*, which I think probable, since the Hebrew agrees; קֹפֶם *kup*, simia.

306. **Nakhira.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, Dolphins.—So called from their spouting water from their nostrils. From Heb. נַחַר *nakhhar*, to snort: Syriac *nakhira*, a nostril. *As elippi sha Arvadaia irkab, nakhira as yabba rabti iduk*; on ships of Arvad he embarked, dolphins in the Great Sea he slew.—R28, 3. The Great Sea is the Mediterranean. Arvad or Aradus was an ancient and celebrated seaport. In the long lists of presents and tribute offered to the Assyrian Kings we find mentioned *ka nakhiri binuta yabba*, the teeth of dolphins, creatures of the sea.

¶ I gave this translation of the passage in October, 1859 (Journ. R.A.S. Vol. 19, p. 127), but I have since found that the curious word *nakhira* had been previously recognized by Oppert.

307. **Namzu.** , Crocodiles.—The king of Egypt sent to the king of Assyria a number of rare animals for his museum or menagerie.—R 28, 29. Among these are mentioned “Namzu fish; creatures of the River”    .








I offered a conjecture in 1859 (Journ. R.A.S. Vol. 19, p. 133), that *Namzu* was the Egyptian plural of *Xamzu*, which we know from Herodotus was the native name of the Crocodile. M. Oppert has accepted this explanation of the word. Egyptian plurals often begin with N (vide Champollion's grammar).

308. **Aribi.** , Locusts.—Heb. *Aribah*, a locust .

In the description of the great invasion of the Elamites, which preceded the battle of Khaluli, the following fine simile occurs (R 41, 43): “Then, as a mighty swarm of locusts covers the face of the earth, they rushed in destroying multitudes against me *kima tibut aribi mahadi sha pan matti, bitkharish ana epish duknati tibuni tsirû-ya*.

This recalls to mind the description in the prophet Joel of the utter desolation of Judæa by the Assyrian armies, who spread over it as a cloud of destroying locusts, obscuring the face of heaven—“That which the palmer-worm hath left, hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left, hath the canker-worm eaten For, a nation is come up upon my land, strong and without number, whose teeth are the teeth of a lion the land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness.”—Joel ii. 3.

Then the simile of the locusts is still further continued: “They shall run to and fro in the city; they shall run upon the wall; they shall climb up into the houses; they shall enter in at the windows like a thief.”—Joel ii. 9.

309. **Ishati.** , Fire. Flames.—“140 villages which are on Mount Arzabia I took, and burnt with fire,” *in ishati ashrup*.—Botta 76, 11. Often expressed by the monogram . Thus, in a short prayer to the god of Fire [tablet K 44 side 2, lines 10, 11], the P.C.   *illa*, is translated in Assyrian by    as *ishati-ka illiti* “with

thy celestial fire." (The P.C. pronoun 𐎶𐎵 *zu* 'thy' answers to the Assyrian 𐎶𐎵 *ka*). These are two examples to be added to that given in Dict. 496 (which Mr. Norris says is the only one he had found) in *ishati ikalu* (whoever) "in fire shall burn it."—3 Mich. i, 34 (spelt as in the other examples).

A second monogram very frequently used is 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. The word *ishat* agrees exactly with the Hebrew ִשָּׁה or אֵשֶׁת (fire). In Syll. 473, 474 the monogram 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 is rendered *izzu* or *itzu* 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. If this means "fire," *izzu* may be likewise derived from ִשָּׁה ignis.

310. *Izzit*. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, a Fire Altar.—Agrees with Heb. אֵשֶׁת 'a burnt offering,' from ִשָּׁה 'fire.' אֵשֶׁת also signifies the fire itself, in Jeremiah. R7, ix, A, "The four Lions which I had slain *izat panu izit sha Ishtar billat takhazi*," "I took them before the fire-altar of Ishtar queen of battles." And so the bas-relief represents the scene.

311. *Kalû*. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, to Burn. Heb. קָלָה to burn.—𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *ikalû*, "he shall burn it," 3 Mich. i, 34. In Bellino 47, concerning a Canal dried up and abandoned, *Its ki-makkhi-sun nakmuti ukalli muanna su*, "the beautiful *ki* trees (on its banks) had been burnt as firewood, years ago." 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *ukalli*, 'they had been burnt.' In this passage I believe that *su* belongs to the Hebrew verb יָשַׁב 'to be': *mu-anna su* (sunt anni). Compare the participle *sut* of the same verb, if I mistake not, in Nabonidus R68, 8. *Uruk sar sut makhri*: Uruk, rex qui fuit olim. In the following example of the verb *kalak* the syllable *kal* is represented by the peculiar sign 𐎶𐎵, "Whoever in flames shall burn them," 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 in *ishati ikallû*. Tig. viii, 66.

312. *Akmu*. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, I burned.—This is a very common verb. Opp. Khors. 5 line 5, "The cities of the land of Manna I burned with fire," as *isati akmu* 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. So in R 40, 67, *et passim*. The theme of this verb appears to be *kamû* 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 < 'to burn,' which stand nexts to *nakmuti*

- 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 < 'to be burnt' in 2R 34, 69. As a further proof of this, see 2R 35, 15, where the verb *kamû* 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 is explained *first* by the verb *sarabu* 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 which is the Heb. שרף 'to burn;' and *secondly* by the verb *kalû* 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 which is the Heb. קלה 'to burn.'—See No. 311.
313. **Nakmut.** 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍, a Burning.—The cities of Susiana had been set on fire. *Kutar nakmuti-sun kima im-kab kabti pan shamie rapsuti usaktim.* "The smoke of their burning, like a mighty cloud, obscured the face of high heaven."—R 40, 68. 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 *Usaktim* is the S conjugation of *katim* 'to conceal' Heb. כתר. The simple verb *katim* is found in R 41, 47, where 'a cloud of dust' conceals the heavens. See another example of the word *nakmut* in No. 311, where it is written in the form 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍. Bellino 47.
314. **Kutar.** 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍, Smoke. Heb. קיטור *fumus.* (see the preceding article).
315. **Kutra.** 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍, Incense. Heb. קטר 'incense offered to the gods,' 'suffimentum': 'thymiam.'—This word is the same as the last, in a different acceptance. It only occurs in one passage, where Sargina receives tribute from Ithamar king of the Sabæans—but the reading is doubtful (see art. *Ishbi*, No. 115).
316. **Khutarati.** 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍, otherwise 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍, Fragrant: sweet smelling. Arab. قتر 'to be fragrant'; same as Heb. קטר 'to burn incense'; 'to exhale fragrance.'—In the tribute of Jehu son of Omri recorded on the second Epigraph of the Obelisk, "fragrant woods" are mentioned 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍; and similarly in the first Epigraph.
317. **Burukhati.** 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍, Fragrant: incense breathing.—A word formed 'per metathesis' from *bukhurati* which is the Arabic *bukhur* "perfume, odour, or anything which diffuses fragrance, as aloes, musk, thyme, storax, frankincense, &c." Catafago's Dict. p. 42. In the fourth Epigraph of the Obelisk, in the tribute of a king called Marduk-polassar, 'odoriferous woods' are mentioned 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍.

318. **Kasar.** 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫, a King.—This very curious word appears to me to be the origin of the German *Kaiser*. This idea was published by Norris in his Dict. p. 624, but it has been known to me for some time. Mr. Norris's reference to 43 II 42 c is wrong. It should be 33 II 42 c. The passage referred to is 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫. 𐎲𐎠𐎫 i.e. "*Kasar* signifies a King." This stands among a number of other terms, each of which signifies a King. Mr. Norris has given no other example of the word: I will therefore add one, which is found in the same page and column, l. 18. 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫. 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫. 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫. *Kasar mu I kan, kitsir matti-su, VI thu kaspa salali*: "The King's first year. Abundance in his land. Six *thu* of silver" According to Hincks (Norris's Dict. p. 461) six *thu* would be one-tenth of a *mana*.












































¶ Perhaps however 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 should be read *shatti-su* 'in his year,' i.e. 'in his first or regnal year;' which would correspond in meaning with the P.C. 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫.

319. **Bil.** 𐎲𐎠𐎫, a Lord, a Chief. Often written 𐎲𐎠𐎫. Heb. בִּלְפָנַי.—In 2R36, lines 7, 8, 9, we find three names for the Leader of an Army, or the General in command: *alík makhri, bil pani,* and *bil emuki*, to which correspond the P.C. terms 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 and 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫. Norris has given a copious account of the word *Bil* and its derivatives (Dict. p. 84).

320. **Biltu.** 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫, Government. Lordship. 2R36, 61.—The orthography agrees with that of the preceding article *Bil* 𐎲𐎠𐎫.—Several variations of the word are given in the opposite column, namely 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 *bilitu*, 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 *bilatru*, 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 *ebiltu* (in which the initial vowel is remarkable), and 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 *bahilatu*.

321. **Bahilat.** 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫, sometimes 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫, Government. Province. City.—Same as 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 *bahilatu* in the last article, meaning 'government: lordship.' It agrees exactly with the Heb. בְּעִלָּת 'a City,' see Gesenius p. 163. "Of all the kings of former days, my fathers who went before me, who reigned before me over Assyria, and governed the city of

announced by Sir H. Rawlinson at a lecture at the Royal Institution in May 1855.

326. **Kharran.**    → , a Road: and thence, more particularly, an Inroad, a hostile expedition.—Plural *Kharranāt*    →   or     , or more briefly     , or, omitting the termination *nat*,   . A peculiar monogram  stands for this word, see 2R 38, 22 .    . This is fully confirmed by other examples. When Tiglath Pileser had made an end of his wars and his conquests, he concludes his account of them with the following words (Tig. vi, 49), *Ezib kharranāt akhi madātu sha ana litati-ya lá kirba*, 'I omit many other hostile expeditions, which I did not insert in my historic tablets.' This simple phrase gave great trouble to the translators of 1857. Rawlinson's translation is much the best, ("*I have omitted many expeditions*"). Hincks and myself mistook the word *madatu* which means 'many' for *madatu* 'tribute,' which is spelt the same. This error of course destroyed the sense of the passage. Other words which we did not then understand were   *akhi* 'other,' *litati* 'tablets' or 'records,' and *kirba* to include, insert, introduce; a verb often used of writing on tablets. I have only lately remarked that this passage (Tig. vi, 49) has been copied in another inscription (R 28, 34) which is unfortunately much mutilated;—*Ezib kharranāt akhi*      [then comes a fracture]. The words which follow are likewise similar in both inscriptions.—"In good roads I went in my Chariot; in bad roads on foot. I pursued my enemies and conquered them." The parallelism of the passages is therefore established. The plural *kharranāt* must be restored in the following passage. *Bukhar-sun usappikh, uparrir kharranāt-zun,*      I put to flight their army, I destroyed their hostile invasion. Bavian 39 (Norris 82). For, exactly the same thing is said in Sen. T. iv, 42 (Norris 81), only interchanging the substantives    [*kharranāt-zu usappikh uparrir bukhār-su*. Hence *uparrir* and *usappikh* had nearly the same meaning. The latter appears to be the Heb. שפח or ספח

fudit (put to flight) *Ges.* 967. *Bukhar* 'an army' is from the Assyrian verb *pakhar* 'to assemble.'

¶ See also Gloss. No. 53.

327. **Asbut.** 𐎠 𐎶 𐎶 Oracles; or *adj.* Oracular. Ch. 𐎠𐎶𐎶 Magus.







On Sargina's invasion, Merodach Baladan hastily collected the holy images, to prevent them from falling into the invader's hands and being carried off to Nineveh. "Iri-su asbuti u ili asib libbi-sun ki istin upakhir, ana Dur-Yakin usarib; *the gods dwelling in the Oracle-Cities he collected them every one, and brought them into the city of Dur-Yakina.*"—Opp. Khors. pl. 14. The translation of 'iri-su asbuti,' *urbes ejus oraculis insignes*, is due to Oppert. I think it is correct, and if so it is of great importance, because some modern scholars have supposed the word 𐎠𐎶𐎶, which occurs repeatedly in the book of Daniel, to be a corruption of the Greek *σοφος*,—whereas we now see it in an Assyrian inscription of the eighth century B.C.






¶ The city of *Asbit* or *Asbat*, 𐎠 𐎶 is mentioned 2 R 67, 11 among the *makhazi* (holy cities) of Babylonia, where great sacrifices were offered on solemn occasions. Perhaps *Asbat* means 'the oracle.'




¶ Moreover, if we turn to 2 R 15, 5 we shall find that 𐎠 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 *Assabut* is explained by 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 *namga* (the Oracle) 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 (of the divine *Kua*). This *Kua* was a famous shrine of Marduk, mentioned in the E.I.H. inscription and elsewhere. *Namga* may be the well known Hebrew word *Nam*, 'a divine voice,' which occurs so often in the Old Testament in the phrase נאם יְהוָה 'saith the Lord:' (*ga* being merely a P.C. case ending, which is added to many words, as 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 for 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 'good, fortunate, holy:' and 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 for the Assyrian 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 'a field' in 2 R 15, 18). The text 2 R 15, 5 after explaining that *Assabut* means the divine *Kua*, adds 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 *ushateri* 'it spoke.' If we now turn to line 4 of the same plate, we find another form of the word 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶, namely *ussab* or 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 *ussabi* (in the gen. case). The *Bit ussabi* is explained 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Bit galla* 'the great Temple,' *Kua* 'of the Oracle.'



¶ Hence *mashapti* an 'oracle' or 'prediction,' if I have rightly read the word, in my translation of the "War in Syria."





Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, Vol. 8, p. 266.

328. **Tugu.**  a Multitude.—Heb. דגה 'to multiply,' which occurs Genes. xlviii, 16, 'let them grow into a multitude' **דגו לרב**—Botta 163, 6. "Zukullat gai gammali tsieni unmanat Ashur gashati  tami mushi (   ) *tugu la nibi ishlulunu; the herds of oxen camels and sheep the active soldiers of Ashur for three days and nights, a multitude without number, carried off for spoil.*"

329. **Dugut.**   *adj.* Very Numerous. Like the last word, from the Heb. דגה. Meaning proved by Syll. 150, which equates it to  *kabtu* 'numerous'; and to the monogram  which also reads *kabtu*. This is a good proof of the sign  having the value *kab*.

330. **Ashla.**   , a Rope. The same with the Chald. אשל 'funis.' When the Hebrew has חבל 'a rope,' the Targum renders it אשל (Buxt. and Sch.)—"Ashli rabati misikhtha-su amsukh, *with a long rope I measured its measure*"—Tablet 192.

331. **Ashlish.**   *adj.* With a Rope.—From *Ashla*; see the last article. "Gimir bakhulati-sun ashlish udabikhu; *all the inhabitants I tied together with ropes.*" Sarg. 29. *Udabikh* from Heb. דבק 'to fasten together.'—The whole population of a captured city was thus led into captivity.



332. **Ashlatân.**   *adv.* a rope's length. From *ashla* 'a rope,' see art. 330.—This word, from having the appearance of a numeral, has given trouble to Assyrian students. The termination   *tân* usually indeed indicates a numeral. But there is no Hebrew numeral *ashla*. A surveyor's rope or chain, however, having a fixed length and being divided into parts, naturally acquired a numerical value, and this accounts for the form of the adjective which we are now considering. The scientific defence of the city of Dur-Yakina by Merodach Baladan, described in Opp. Khors. pl. 14, has given much trouble to inter-

preters. Yet I think the account is pretty clear. On the approach of Sargina's army, Merodach Baladan withdrew into his city, and prepared for a vigorous defence. The first thing he did was what the commandant of an attacked fortress generally does at the present day. He threw down and levelled everything within a certain distance of the Citadel. In this level space he then dug a broad and deep fosse, and filled it with water from the neighbouring Euphrates. At first there were bridges over it, (no doubt for convenience), but on Sargina's approach he cut them down. Nevertheless the city was taken by storm, but Merodach Baladan escaped during the darkness of the night.





"Ashlatân lapan dur-su rabi unissi, *he levelled everything to the distance of a rope's length from his great citadel.*" The verb $\Xi\text{III}=\text{III}$ ΞI ΞII *unissi* or *unitsi* stands here for the very common verb *unitsi* 'he levelled.' The substitution of N for M is frequent in Assyrian words. Thus, for instance, we find *khansha* 'fifty' instead of *khamsha* חמשה; and *mitzut* for *mitzu* 'hostile.'

333. **Misikhta.** I - $\langle\text{I}\rangle$ - Δ - III ΞIII also written $\langle\Xi\rangle$ Δ - III ΞI and $\langle\Xi\rangle$ $\langle\text{I}\rangle$ - Δ - III ΞI . Measure. Agrees exactly with the Heb. *misikh* משה 'mensuravit.' "Amsukh misikhta, *I measured the measure.*"—Bellino line 52. I will take the occasion of this word to call attention to some very curious speculations of Mr. Norris on the measurement of Sargina's palace (see Dict. p. 524). He seems not to have been aware that I proposed a similar theory (though the details are very different) in a paper read before the R. S. of Literature in March, 1861. I will therefore reprint a portion of it, from Vol. 7 of the Transactions, p. 178.

"In line 45 of the same inscription [Sargina's cylinder] when Sargina was about to build his palace at Khorsabad, we find, what is very curious, that he was prompted by a superstitious feeling to build the palace of such a size that the number of cubits contained in its area corresponded exactly with the number of his own name!—So ancient was the idea that the letters in a man's name, translated into numbers, had a mysterious influence over his destiny, and so

far was it from being only a late Jewish superstition.—It follows, that Sargina must have used habitually an alphabetic and not the cuneiform writing; for, can we suppose that numerical values attached to all the cuneiform signs, so that a Cuneiform name could be read with certainty as a number?" And again in p. 181 I said, "I now proceed to another portion of the text (line 55), where we find a series of numbers. The sign  is four times repeated; then  three times; then follows one *vas* (or *sus*), three *kani*, and two *hu*, which last we know to be *cubits*, since the word is explained by *amma* in the E. I. H. inscription, Heb. *amma* מִמָּנָה 'a cubit'—I am unable to say what sum these numerals when added together amount to. But there immediately follows: "Nibit mu-ya, *the number of my name*, misikhti dur-su ashkunu, *I determined should be the measure of the palace*." Nibit is sometimes used for 'name' (as, 'ashkira nibit-zu') and sometimes for 'number,' as in the phrase *la nibi* 'numberless.' 'The number of a man's name,' brings to mind a passage in the Apocalypse."—Transactions R.S.L. Vol. 7.

These speculations, being now supported by the concurrent opinion of Mr. Norris, will I hope be further examined.

334. **Kizir** or **Kitzir**.    .—This word has various meanings. Mr. Norris has an excellent article upon it (Dict. p. 549). I will at present only consider one of its meanings. In No. 318 I have translated it 'abundance,' a sense which it bears in Arabic. But on further consideration of the passage, compared with one in 2R15, 20 I suspect that *Kizir* in Assyrian is equivalent to *Kasar* 'a King' in Proto-Chaldæan. The text of 2R33, 17 is obscure, but if we suppose that the scribe wrote *sar-ka* by mistake for *ka-sar* it becomes all right. I will give this line (so altered) and the following line, to show this.




Line 17. P.C. *Kasar tuta-uddu*. Assyrian. *Kizir ushatzi* (the King spoke, or decreed).



Line 18. P.C. *Kasar mu I kan*. Assyrian. *Kizir shatti-su* (the King in his first or regnal year).

N.B.—The P.C. verb *tuta-uddu* (usually *tutan-uddu*) is very common; it always answers to the Assyrian *ushatzi*.

I now proceed to the passage 2 R15, 20.

The P.C. text has *Lib kasarda bita kuntu turri*; of which the Assyrian version is *In libbi kizir, bit uzakhar* (within the palace I built a small new house): *i.e.* within the precinct of the palace, which usually contained many separate buildings.

N.B.—These are words of frequent occurrence, namely  *kum* 'new'  *turri* 'small,' answering to the Assyrian  *zakhar* 'small.' With respect to *kasarda*, since we have from *sar* 'king' the adjective *sarda* 'royal' or 'crown,' I presume that *kasar* 'king' has the adjective *kasarda* 'anything royal' *ex.gr.* 'a royal palace.' If these remarks are correct, *Kizir* must have meant 'a Palace' in Assyrian. Surely this must be identical with the Arabic word قصر *kasr* 'a Palace.' If so, we must either give up the connexion of the word *Kasar* with the German *Kaiser*, or suppose that both of them had the same origin as the Arabic *Kasr*.


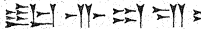
¶ In the fourth line of the same plate 2 R15 the P.C. *Bit kasarda* is translated by the Assyrian  *Bit kizri*. This word *kizri* is the genitive case of *kizir*  *kizir*. This passage confirms the other.


¶ It will be said that *Kaiser* is derived from the Latin *Cæsar*. The connexion is of course evident, but some think that the Roman patronymic *Cæsar* meant originally that the family was 'of royal descent.'



¶ The beautiful building at Seville, known as the *Alcazar* or Royal Palace (Arab. *al kasr*), much resembles in its name the cuneiform *Kasar*.



¶ The Czar of Russia bears the same eastern name. The derivation from *Cæsar* is now generally rejected, because in the Russian bible *Czar* or *Tzar* signifies 'a King,' as in the Lord's Prayer 'thy kingdom' is rendered *t:ar-stvoe tvoe*.—Old Russian books speak of the *Tzar* of Kasan, the *Tzar* of the Krim, the *Tzar* of the golden horde, and other petty Tartarian and Siberian kings are named *tzars*. Therefore, says Mr. Tooke (quoted in Rees's Cyclopædia)


we may suppose with the highest probability that the Russian nation finding these *tzars* among the neighbouring people borrowed the title from them.



¶ The word  *Kizurat*, which occurs 2R57, 12 among the titles of a great goddess apparently Beltis, does not belong here. The passage says that Beltis was surrounded (*kizurat*) right and left with light of exceeding splendour. Another title is  *Sarraṭ abzi*, 'Queen of the heavenly Abyss or Ocean,' probably the original *Ωκεανος* of the Greeks. *Ωκεανον τε Θεων γεγενεσιν*—(*Hom.*).

335. *Uduri*.  Bactrian Camels. Apparently the same as *Uturati* (see No. 296).—The latter word may mean 'She Camels'—compare *Anakati* (No. 297). The inscription of Esarhaddon col. iv, line 17 relates a campaign in 'distant Media'—*Ga, tsieni, uduri*; 'their oxen, sheep and camels' (I carried off to Assyria). As this 'distant Media' perhaps comprised Bactria, the *Uduri* were probably Bactrian Camels.

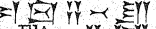
¶ I find another example of *Alap* 'a bull' (No. 298) in 2R49, 45 where  *Albu* is explained  *Ga*, 'an Ox.'



¶ *Hukludi* 'sheep' (No. 304) occurs as one of the constellations in 2R49, 67, along with *urmakh* 'the lion'; *allab*  *El* 'the bull';  'the fish' &c. &c. Compare Aries, Taurus, Leo, Pisces of the Greek Zodiac.

¶ The constellation  *Laba* (*ibid.* line 42) may be 'the Lioness'; Heb. *לִבְיָא* or *לִבְיָה* but I have not found the word elsewhere.

336. *Zamad*.  a Yoke. Hebrew *יֶגֶם* 'jugum.'— *zamad sha rukubi* 'yoke of a chariot.' 2R27, 24.

Norris gives another example of the word (*Dict.* p. 353)

 *rukub zamat-zu* 'his yoked chariot.'

337. *Elû*.  a Yoke.—This is exactly the Hebrew word *עֶל* 'jugum.' It occurs in 2R27, 25 next to *zamad* (see last article).  *elû sha rukubi* 'yoke of a chariot.'

338. **Dapanu.** 𐎣𐎶 𐎠𐎶, a Yoke.—This occurs in 2 R 27, 23 along with the two preceding words *zamad* and *elû*. That they have all the same meaning seems scarcely doubtful. 𐎣𐎶 𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶 𐎣𐎶, *dapanu sha rukubi* ‘yoke of a chariot.’

This word *Dapanu*, if I mistake not, is a *metathesis* or transposition (and a very remarkable one) of the Chald. and Syr. *Padanu* ‘a yoke,’ ܦܕܢ. Such permutations are frequent in Hebrew, and also in Assyrian, as *tikbi* for *tibki*, a measure of length (both of which forms are in use); and *bidmuk* for *midbuk* ‘an altar,’ the former being the Assyrian, the latter the Hebrew form.

¶ I think I find the same meaning of *Dapanu* in the following passage. *Lib libbi sha* (...) ‘descendant of (...);’ *sarri dapini nakur Ashur* ‘the king who subjugated (or yoked) the enemies of Ashur.’—Tig. vii, 56. 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶 *Nakur* for *Nakiri* ‘enemies.’

339. **Nabû.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶 𐎣𐎶 a Prophet. Also a Prophecy, Oracle, or Oracular Voice. The Hebrew agrees.—נבא *naba* ‘to prophecy’ (etiam *insanire*, *furere*, ut *μαρτυρῆσαι* a *μαρτυρῆσαι*. *Ges.*) נביא ‘a prophet.’ This interesting word is in common use at the present day. Arab. *Nabî*, the Prophet. In 2 R 7, 36 there is an important list of the various meanings of the word *nabû* 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶 𐎣𐎶. It was, in the first place, identified with the name of the god *Nebo* or *Nabo*, written 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶 𐎣𐎶 𐎣𐎶 or 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶 𐎣𐎶. It is also explained by the word 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶 *Asbat* ‘an Oracle.’ This important verification of the word *Asbat* was accidentally omitted in its proper place in No. 327.

340. **Nabi.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎣𐎶 the Gods.—In Sargon’s cylinder line 45 (or line 55 of Oppert’s folio edition) the King says: “In a great crowd and affluence of the people of every rank, I lifted up my hands (*attali kate*) to the gods dwelling at Niniveh (𐎣𐎶 𐎠𐎶 *sibat Ninua*).—*Sikri pi-ya kinû ki ulûni eli Nabi tsiri bili-ya*, ‘when the prayers of my zealous lips had arisen to the great gods my lords, *mahatish ikhibu* ‘they were greatly pleased;’ *epish ar, khirîe nahar ikbuni* ‘and commanded me to build the city and excavate the river.’—Here *sikri* 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶 𐎣𐎶 or 𐎣𐎶 𐎠𐎶 𐎣𐎶 is the Arabic *shukr* prayer, praise, thanksgiving—*shakar Allah* ‘to praise God.’ (This

word may be related to the Latin *sacra* 'religious rites,' which originally came to Italy from the East.)

Nabi tsiri bili-ya 'the great gods my lords.' *Nabi* was therefore a Proto-Chaldean name for the gods. It is evidently the plural of *Nabû* (see last article), but I do not find *Nabû* used in Assyrian for 'a god' simply, though it sometimes means the god *Nebo* in particular. But if we turn to the Scythian language we shall find proof almost certain that *Nab* or *Nabo* meant 'a god' in that dialect. The ancient symbol for 'a god' was a star. This must have been invented by a nation who worshipped the stars, and all the host of heaven, as their gods. In process of time the star * degenerated into the form $\rightarrow\star$ (which we find in the Assyrian writing). And the plural word * * 'the gods' degenerated into $\rightarrow\star\star$. This latter form the Assyrians used (writing it $\rightarrow\star\rightarrow\star$) to express the syllable *Nab*; for the simple reason that *Nap* or *Annap* meant 'gods' in Scythic. This curious discovery was made by Mr. Norris some years ago. Similarly 'the stars' * * came to be written $\rightarrow\star\rightarrow\star$ $\rightarrow\rightarrow\star$. But the Michaux stones in the British Museum preserve the ancient form.

Annap is used both for 'a god' and 'gods.' This word however reduces itself to *Nap* or *Nab* since the first syllable $\rightarrow\star$ *An* is the sign of 'divinity,' perhaps not pronounced (see Mr. Norris's Scythic Vocabulary, p. 199).

341. **Munnabta.** $\rightarrow\star\rightarrow\star$ $\rightarrow\star\rightarrow\star$ $\rightarrow\star$, a Ventriloquist. Inspired Man. Prophet. In 2R7, 47 this is placed among the words derived from *Nabu* a Prophet, or Oracle. Among the various explanations there given of *Nabu* one is especially remarkable in line 38, where it is rendered $\rightarrow\star\rightarrow\star$ $\rightarrow\star\rightarrow\star\rightarrow\star$ *Ka Kabal*, or *Ka Kabli* 'Voice within,' or 'Internal Voice.' And, as if to prevent doubt, the Assyrian scribe has altered $\rightarrow\star\rightarrow\star$ *ka* into the full word $\rightarrow\star\rightarrow\star$ $\rightarrow\star$ *kagu* which in P.C. means 'a Voice:' (see Syll. 476-481 where *kagu* becomes *ka* by reduction, and is then explained (*inter alia*) by $\rightarrow\star$ $\rightarrow\star$ *pi* 'the voice'). Now if we turn to line 47 we shall find that *Munnabta* is explained $\rightarrow\star\rightarrow\star$ $\rightarrow\star\rightarrow\star$ $\rightarrow\star\rightarrow\star$ $\rightarrow\star\rightarrow\star$ 'a man possessing an Internal Voice' i.e. 'a Ventriloquist.' It is unnecessary to observe that ventriloquism might have played an

important part among the tricks by which the pagan and idolatrous priests deceived their votaries. See Rees's Cyclopædia, art. *Ventriloquus*. The LXX call such a person *Εργαστριμυθος*, other authors have *Εργαστριμαντις*, showing that he was supposed to have a *prophetic* or *oracular* spirit within him.

342. **Nibitta.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 an Oracle. In 2 R 7, 42 this word is placed among the words correlated to *Nabu* 'an Oracle.'—This gloss enables us to explain the names of certain cities, as 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Nibit Laguda* 'the Oracle of Laguda,' which is frequently mentioned in Sargon's inscriptions.

343. **Zamat.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, A kind of precious stone.—In No. 30 I have offered the conjecture that this stone was the *Onyx*. I have since found the following strong confirmation of it. In 2 R 40, 48 is the gloss 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 from which we learn that the *zamat* stone was also called the *tsirru*. Now if we consult Schindler's Lexicon we shall find that 𐎶𐎵 *tsipra* means the Onyx stone; therefore I think the *zamat* is proved to be the Onyx. But 𐎶𐎵 *tsipra* has yet another meaning, that of *unguis* 'a nail.' So in Greek the word *Ονυξ* signifies both the precious stone and the nail. Some say, this was because the stone is semi-transparent, but this is uncertain. At any rate, the resemblance holds good in both languages.

344. **Kabaz.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, a Furnace 𐤒𐤁𐤆. The Hebrew word is 𐤒𐤁𐤆, but the final N is merely formative, as is evident from the Arabic *khabbās* 'a baker,' whence *khubs* 'bread.' In 2 R 27, 47 we find *kabaz sha ishātī* explained by 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *kum tintin* 'a fire-furnace.' Here 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *kum* 'fire' is explained by 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *ishātī* as in Gloss. No. 309 (of which it affords another useful example); and *kabaz* is explained by *tintin*. This is the Heb. 𐤒𐤁𐤆 'a furnace,' from 𐤒𐤁𐤆 *tannan* 'to smoke' in Syr. and Ch. (see Gesen.) The reduplicate 𐤒𐤁𐤆𐤒𐤁𐤆 arises naturally, as in many other verbs.

¶ Hence, if I mistake not, we may perceive the true origin of the name of Mount *Etna*, viz. that it was so called by the Phœnician sailors 𐤒𐤁𐤆𐤒𐤁𐤆 *Etnan* "the Furnace," or "the Smoking Mountain."



(*zupie-ya urrut ishmû*), and came to my assistance."—In line 75 of same plate, in the account of the battle which then ensued, we read [I saw that the Chiefs of the Enemy wore gold-hilted daggers and armlets and anklets of shining gold]: *eagerly* I attacked them, (*urruṭ ubul sunuṭi*).—In Sh. Ph. iv, 23 (quoted by Norris 299) we read, *ultu pan nakharat isku-ya uruti iblakku*, they fled from the terrors of my *impetuous* arms. (R34, 23) written 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶.


348. **Urish.** 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *adv.* Hotly. Fiercely.—Like the last word, from Heb. 𐤀𐤁𐤁 'to be hot.'—I fiercely assaulted the cities on the mountain, *urish lu-amik*. Tig. iii, 57. And in Tig. vi, 2 *urish amdakhiz*, I fought fiercely.—Hence the etym. of *urish* proposed in No. 292 was incorrect.





349. **Salmish.** 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *adv.* Perfectly. Heb. שלם *perfectit*.—In 2R36, 25 the King prays that he may always walk before the gods in perfect holiness, as well as in prosperity. The prayer ends 𐎶𐎶𐎶 . 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 . 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *salmish ittalluku makhhar-su*. The use of the plural sign 𐎶𐎶𐎶 for *mish* is curious.—It resumes its original value 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *mi-ish*.






The same phrase is found in tablet K 211 or 170a in which the king decrees honours to a nobleman called Bulshaya for his zealous services. Line 13 says, *Lib-su gummuru ana bel(ni-su)* 'his heart was perfect unto his Lord; in *makhri-ya in kinati izi(ti)* *ittallaku salmish* 'with ardent zeal he walked before me perfectly' 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 . 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 . 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 . 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 . I have restored the final letter 𐎶𐎶𐎶 which is broken off. In the above, *gummur* is the Heb. גמור *gumur* 'perfectit'; Chald. גמיר 'perfectus.' The word is common in Assyrian. Tiglath calls himself *sar gimir* 'the perfect king.' *Kinati* 'zeal' is the Heb. קנאת *kinat* studium ardens erga aliquem—ζηλος. *Ges.* *Iziti* may be 'ardent,' from *izit* 'fire,' but the word is broken and therefore doubtful. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *makhri* is the oblique case of 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *makhhar* which is found in the first example.





- ¶ *Salmish* also signifies 'safely,' see Gloss. No. 230 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 . 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *salmish atura* I returned safely. Oppert's Egypt p. 59. In this phrase also an example occurs (Opp. Ég. p. 76)





where *salmish* is written . Also in same work p. 80,  *salmish issunu-mma*, 'they brought them safely' [from Thebes to Niniveh : viz. the spoils of Egypt.]




350. **Kamish.**  *adv.* For ever. Heb. קום *manere, durare.*

'May the gods put him for ever under the power of his enemies,' *lissasibu-su kamish*  *Sarg.* 67, also Botta 61 l. ult. and many other inscriptions. Here  has the value *mish* as in the preceding article *salmish*. But in other texts we find *kamish* written at full length   as in Esar. ii, 5 'In front of the great gate of the entrance of Niniveh I placed them to remain for ever,' *usasib sunuti kamish*.

351. **Azmish.**  *adv.* Nobly : or Strongly.—This is another example of  used for *mish*. E. I. H. iii, 62, *Bit azmish udammik*, 'I built the temple grandly.' Porter's transcript of the same passage in the cursive character replaces  by   *mish*. *Azmish* may mean 'nobly,' from *izmi* which more than once replaces in the texts *Rubu* 'a nobleman': or 'strongly' from Heb. יצם *fortis fuit : potens fuit* : which is the root of *izmi*.

352. **Labbish.**   or   *adv.* From the Heart. Heartily. From Heb. לב 'the heart' (same in Arab. and Syr.).

 *labbish annadir* 'I vowed from my heart,' Opp. Khors. l. 40. The verb *annadir* is the Heb. נדר *nadar* 'vovit.'—*Again*, R 41, 54. I prayed to all the gods to give me victory. They heard my prayer, and came to my assistance. Then I vowed from my heart   *labbish annadir*  *atribi-sha* 'their sacrifices.'—The vow of the King is, to increase the number or beauty of the victims offered to the gods. *Atribi* from ערש *esca, cibus*. The gods were supposed to eat the altar-offerings.

353. **Nisakku.**   or more simply *Nisak*  The King's lieutenant. A Prince representing the King. Perhaps the Chald. נסך 'princeps,' but of this I am

not certain.—In art. 287 of this glossary I translated the line *nisak nigut lá eli-sun usakin*, ‘a Chief of the assembly I did not impose on them.’—I was led to this translation by the context. The king did not wish to unduly influence the Assembly, or overawe its deliberations.—I have since found the following confirmation. In 2R32, 7 *Nisakku* is explained 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 *Nuab*. Now I have shown in No. 179 that *Nuab* meant a Viceroy or Vicegerent. The word remains in Arabic to the present day: نواب *nuab* ‘lieutenant, substitute, viceroy, vicegerent,’ Catafago’s dict. p. 291.

354. **Lisik.** 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 a Cell, a closed strong chamber.—In B.M. 33, 16 Sargina restores an ancient Palace, and replaces its *timin* or sacred clay cylinder in a strong cell, which he fences round with large stones. *Eli pili danni timmin-su kima Lisik sadi zakri asbuk*. Although I have only met with this word once, yet it agrees so very well with the Hebrew that I think it worth pointing out. Heb. לשך or לשכה *Cella, conclave*. plur. לשכות. Often used in Hebrew for cells where treasure was kept. The LXX render it γαζοφυλακίον.










355. **Illat.** 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 Armed force, an Army. This is apparently the Heb. חיל *Hil* ‘an army.’ Yet it may possibly be the Heb. חייל ‘force,’ ‘strength.’

𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *upahir illat-zu* ‘he collected his forces,’ Opp. Eg. p. 77. The verb *pahir* or *pakhir* is especially used of assembling an army; whence *buhar* is ‘an assembled army.’

Uparriru illat-zu ‘I had destroyed his forces,’ Sen. T. iii, 53. Same phrase in Opp. Eg. p. 78, but with the meaning ‘they destroyed his forces. Similar expressions are *uparrir buhar-su*, Sen. T. iv, 42 and *uparrir kharranat-zun*, Bavian 39 (Norris 82). In fact *Buhar*, *Kharranat* and *Illat* all mean ‘an army.’

356. **Nasik.** 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 a Prince. pl. *Nasikkan* 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 Chald. נסיך *Principes*.

In R20, 24 a man named 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 is said to be *Nasik* of the land of Dagara, and that he revolted *itabalkat*. The other copy has simply *balkat*; the first seems a *Hithpael* form.—In R42, 15

358. Rihut.  or 
a Kingdom, or Government. In the Senkereh inscription R 51, 8,
Marduk  *Shik ili*, 'Chief of the gods';
 .  .  .  .
 .  *mati u*
nisi ana rihûti iddina, 'has given the land and the people unto my
governance.'

[illegible]

359. **Irthlu.** 𐤅𐤴𐤋𐤁 𐤅𐤴𐤋𐤁 𐤅𐤴𐤋𐤁 𐤅𐤴𐤋𐤁. This verb has two different meanings, being used by the Assyrians to express the T conjugation both of ראה 'to see' and רעה 'to rule.' But this very circumstance gives it a great interest, for it illustrates both the *acumen* of Gesenius and the utility of the Assyrian language in explaining the Hebrew.—Gesenius says, p. 942, "I suspect that the verbs רעה and ראה had the same origin—that of viewing or overlooking"—(*suspicio ejusdem stirpis esse verba רעה et ראה et propriè adspiciendî vim habere*). That such is the case appears very probable from the examples which I am about to adduce.

Irtihu 'he rules,' from רעה, R 15, 59 *Ummanat Ashur kinish irtihu*, Nobly did he reign over the loyal people of Ashur.

Irtihu ‘he beholds,’ from 𐎠𐎼𐎫𐎷. Botta 169 l. penult. ‘Men
of all the lands whom the Sun beholds, I placed in my new City,’
Nisi mati mal Shams irtihu 𐎶𐎵𐎲𐎠 𐎡𐎴𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎠 . 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎠 .
𐎶𐎵𐎲𐎠 𐎶𐎵𐎲𐎠 𐎶𐎵𐎲𐎠 𐎶𐎵𐎲𐎠 𐎶𐎵𐎲𐎠 This is repeated in more
poetical language in Oppert’s Sargon (folio edition, p. 20, l. 2)
Bahilat arbahi lishan akhātu, admie la mīṭharti, asibut sadi u mati
mal irtihu Bir Ilī bil gimri, People of mingled foreign languages,
men quite uncivilized, dwellers in all the hills and plains which the
Light of the Gods the lord of the universe beholds. The same phrase
is found without variation in p. 8 of the same book l. 103.

360. **Aklu.** 𐎠𐎫𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎵 Wise. Prudent. Intelligent. This is the Arabic عاقل *Akil*, or عقلي *Akli* 'prudent,' 'wise,' &c., from عقل *Akl* intellect, knowledge, prudence, wisdom, &c. Catafago's dict. 162 : with whom Schindler agrees, who writes and transcribes the word 𐎠𐎫𐎵 *aqal*, prudens, sapiens from 𐎠𐎫𐎵 *aqal*, 'mens,' &c. &c.

This word occurs frequently in the accounts of the Assyrian parliament or assembly of notables. Along with the men of rank, senators, &c., assembled in the king's palace, we always find mentioned 𐎠𐎫𐎵 𐎠𐎫𐎵 𐎠𐎫𐎵 𐎠𐎫𐎵 𐎠𐎫𐎵 𐎠𐎫𐎵 *Akli, Sapiri*, the Wise men and the Learned men, who are sometimes described (*ex. gr.* Botta 51, 95) as *mudut ini kala-ma* knowing (or skilled) in arts of every kind.


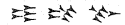



361. **Sapiru.** 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 a Learned man. From the Heb. and Chald. ספר *scriba regius*, γραμματεὺς, librorum sacrorum peritus —amicus regis qui ei *ab epistolis* est (the king's private secretary). *Ges.* which is from ספר any book or writing, in Hebrew, and likewise in Assyrian, *ex. gr.* 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 *siprati* 'letters,' Opp. Eg. p. 61, l. 5.


362. **Khaipā.** 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 Chiefs. Botta 75, 4. 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 *Khaipā* *Arbaia rukuti, asibut mat bari sha aklu sapiru la idu, sha ana sar yamma bilat-zun la ishmama*; 'Chiefs of the distant Arabians, inhabiting a savage land, which my wise men and my learned men knew nothing about; and who had paid tribute to no former king.' —The word *Khaipa* for 'an Arabian Chief' is interesting, being still retained in the Arabic *Kabba* a King or Chief (Richardson's dict. p. 1112).











363. **Kipi.** 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 a Chief.—Bellino l. 18, "I received the tribute of Nebo-bil-mu Chief (*Kipi*) of Ararat."—This chief's name may mean 'Nebo lord of names,' 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵. The plural is *Kipani* 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 which is chiefly found in the account of Ashurbanipal's Egyptian wars.


364. **Kaga.** 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 (Accad.) Voice. Speech. Explained in Syll. 477 by the Assyrian 𐎶𐎶𐎵 *Pi* 'the voice,' which is the Heb. פה or פה the mouth. The shorter form 𐎶𐎶𐎵 *Ka* is



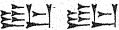
more frequently used. It has the same meaning, as appears from 2R8, 29 and also l. 31 where *ka mu* is translated *pi-ya*. In 2R10 the Assyrian *iktabi* 'he shall say,' or 'he shall speak,' is rendered in P.C. *bannan ka* he shall utter? speech (or voice).

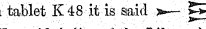
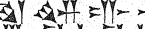









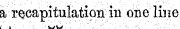



365. **Kagasuni.**  They call it.—A verb derived from *Kaga* 'speech' (*Accad.*) B.M. 17, 6 *In eli Til kamri sha Ar-khumut kagasuni Ar ebus, Ar Kar-Ashur mu-su abi*. "On the ruined Acropolis of what men call the *New Town* I built a city: *Kar Ashur* was the name I gave to it." *Khumut* means 'new.'—The old Acropolis being destroyed, probably in some former war, the inhabitants having rebuilt some of the houses below, naturally called it the New Town. Tiglath rebuilt the upper city or Acropolis and called it *Kar-Ashur*, "*Ashur's fortress*."—Another account of this transaction is found in 2R67, 10. Instead of *kagasuni* we find  *igabbusuni* 'they call it.' This verb explains the other: There is a third account but greatly mutilated in B.M. 52, 1, which evidently had *igabbusuni*, and after *Kar Ashur mu-su abi*, it adds  *isku Ashur bil-ya in libbi arsisb* the religion of Ashur my lord in it I established. *Arsib*  seems connected with *Arrip*  'I raised up.'






 The verb *kagasuni* clearly shows that the P.C. *kaga* 'speech' was commonly used in Assyrian. The ancient language of the early Chaldeans died out slowly, and many of its words remained in use for a long period.

366. **Id or It.** . The *Hand*. This word is the same in all three languages, P.C., Assyrian, and Hebrew. In the latter it is . I have already given an example of the P.C. word in No. 47, *It zida mu*, in my right hand. The word *It* also means 'side,' that is 'direction.' In tablet K 50 there are five carefully written lines, the first of which begins     'on the side of the South.' The three next lines begin respectively 'on the side of the North'—'East'—'West.' After which comes another line     *It im arba* 'on all four sides,' or 'in the direction of each of the four cardinal points.' This last

expression is found in col. 1 of the Senkereh inscription (R 51, 20) where the king says that former persons had made searches  *im arba* 'in all the four directions,' and had turned up the very foundations of the temple in order to find the clay tablets (*ussurati*). Very similar to this statement is that which I have quoted in No. 46, 'They dug right and left, before and behind.'

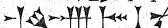
367. **Sar.**  a Song or Hymn to the gods. Heb. שִׁיר, as in the well-known 'Song of Solomon' or 'Song of Songs' שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים. Plural  or else by reduplication  *Sar Sar*.




In tablet K 48 it is said  'On the West side' (i.e. of the Library)  'there are nine songs.' These are then all specified in order. The first is to Ashur, called  which I believe meant 'the good god' ( often stands for  'good'). Then follow the names or titles of eight other gods. The four last are the  *Bil sha hukma*, Lord of knowledge; and  *Nin sha hukma* Lady of knowledge: and after them the Lord and Lady  and  of   which is Accadian and unknown to me. In another part of the tablet there was a much longer statement, but it is defaced. There remains however a recapitulation in one line   "Altogether, fifteen songs on the East side." One of the songs (the second) was to the Lord of *mikhira*  and I rather think it is preserved. For, the reverse of the tablet begins *Suan bil mikhira bil kitu*, Ode to the Lord of Heaven? and Lord of Earth.—This passage identifies the meaning of the very common Accadian word  *Suan* 'an Ode' with *Sar* 'a Song.'



368. **Ailu.**  a Stag or Deer. Heb. אֵיל cervus, אֵילָה cerva. Occurs in a list of animals 2 R 6, 11. Also in R 28, 20 we find, "he caught in hunter's toils (*tsadirati*) many *armi*, *turakhi*, *nali*, and *aili*, spelt    .


369. Urku. 𐎶 𐎶 a Dog. Not found in Hebrew, which employs the word *Kaleb* 𐤊𐤋𐤁.—In a list of animals 2R6, 13 (quoted by Norris p. 511) we find the Assyrian 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Kalbu* rendered in P.C. 𐎶 𐎶 *Urku*. But the first syllable 𐎶 being broken off, this example is inconclusive. The next line has 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *miranu* 'the young of any animal,' and the P.C. has 𐎶 *tur* 'young,' the rest being broken off. Then comes *Kaleb Elanti*, a dog of Elm or Susiana, spelt 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Kaleb*; and *Kaleb Parasi*, a dog of Persia. This name 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 is very uncommon. Next follows *Kaleb mie*, *kaleb urtsi* 'a water dog,' and an earth dog, i.e. terrier.—𐎶 𐎶 'water' is the usual spelling, but 𐎶 𐎶 for 'earth' Heb. ארץ is unusual, and perhaps the word has not that meaning. Lower down the column we find the interesting word 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Kalbu Sagu* 'the Sagu dog.' This is the Persian word *Sag* 'a dog.' Then we have 𐎶 𐎶 P.C. 𐎶 𐎶 'a wicked dog,' and 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *zaidu*, perhaps 'a hunting dog' Heb. ציד *zid* 'venator' a hunter. Next comes 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Kaleb illati* (meaning uncertain), and 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Kalbata* 'a female dog.' Elsewhere 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *natru* 'a watch dog,' from Heb. נטר *natar* 'to watch,' custodivit, and 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *nadhirta*, probably 'a female watch dog.'—In line 33 we have 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *munasikta*, or rather *munasikat* 'a biter;' feminine, from masc. *munasik* Heb. נשך from נשך 'to bite.' This epithet of a dog was known to us before. Several small clay models of dogs are in the British Museum. They have all got names. One of them is *Munasik gari-su* 'Biter of his enemies.' I will return to this little inscription further on.


Tablet K 236 has 20 lines, each of which commences with the word 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 'dogs,' followed by a short sentence, different in each line, but for the most part hard to decipher. Some of them however have analogy to what I have quoted from 2R6. Thus, in the first line I find 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Sagu*, which differs but little from 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶. Then, 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *ema babati*, 'the dogs close to the gates' (*ad portas*). This preposi-

tion *ema* 'juxta' is frequent.—It seems to be the Heb, עַם 'propè.' In two lines (which are consecutive) we find  *kuni-sun* 'their tails.' This is a useful example of the rare word *Kun* 'the tail,' which occurred in No. 292, *Urmakh as kun azbat*, 'I seized the Lion by his tail.'

Line 3 of this tablet 236 begins *Urku ibtanakhuru istanazzu* The last of these verbs occurs three times on the tablet. They are examples of the curious Assyrian *tan* conjugation, which had an *intensive* force. I have mentioned the little models of dogs; one of these is named  *mushazzu limutti* (or *sini*) 'he that barks at evil doers.' The verb *shazza* or *shatza* is used for 'clamare,' to make a loud noise of any kind. I should not be surprised if the verb *istanazzu*, which as I have said, occurs three times on this tablet, were the *tan* conjugation of *shazza*. In that case it may mean 'they barked loudly, or often.' As to the verb *ibtanakhuru* it may be the *tan* conjugation of that verb of which *ibkhuru* 'they assembled' is the simple form. *Bukhur* 'an assemblage or troop,' is a frequent word. Hence I would render line 3 'the dogs assembled in troops and barked loudly.' The two verbs are thus written in the original,  and .

Another of the model dogs is called  *Kasid aibi* 'Conqueror of his enemies.' A third is called  *Munasik gari-su*, 'Biter of his enemies,' I have referred to this by anticipation.

 'the Dog' is mentioned as one of the Constellations in 2 R 49, 43—perhaps the *Canis Major* of modern astronomers.

 is sometimes used as a term of contempt, see Norris, p. 511—where two kings, who turned out ungrateful rebels, are called 'dogs brought up in my palace.'

¶ Among the imprecations in one of the Michaux tablets is the following. *Kima urku libtakhit in ribit arki-su*, 'like a dog may he bark in the streets of his city!'—*Ribit* from רִבְּתָא a wide street or place (platea, via lata). *Libtakhit* is evidently the opt. of the T conjugation of the verb *bakha*, בָּחַ, the syllable *it* or *id* being

added *euphoniae causâ*, as in many other verbs, *ex. gr.* *ipparsiâ* 'he fled,' from פָּרַשׁ; *usarsit* 'he laid the foundation' from שָׂרַשׁ.

On referring to Buxtorf p. 1287 it will be seen that בַּח or בָּח meant to bark like a dog, 'latrare ut canis.' It is an *onomatopœia*. בַּח *bâkh* and the English *bark* are both of them imitations of the sound. The passage referred to will be found in 3R 42, 24.

370. Bar. 𐎶𐎵 - 𐎶𐎵𐎶 Savage.—*Arbaia rukuti asibut mat bari*, the distant Arabians inhabiting a savage land.—Botta 75, 4 (see No. 362). Heb. בעיר *brutus*. Ch. בער or בור *brutus, rudis* (*sæpe de hominibus dicitur*).

[I attacked the land of Babylonia] and like a wild wind I swept over it.—Bavian 44, quoted by Norris 727. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶 .

𐎶𐎵 - 𐎶𐎵𐎶 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶 - 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 .

371. Sipar. 𐎶𐎵 - 𐎶𐎵 or 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 a Chisel, or graving tool. Heb. צפר *cuspis*, and with a formative N added, צפרן a sharp-pointed graving tool of iron or adamant for writing on stones.

Tig. vii, 94 describes the building of a Treasure-house? 'whose walls glittered like the stars of heaven, and looked bright and beautiful, sculptured by the chisel of the Architect'—*in sipar*

bannuti mahatish nuzuku 𐎶𐎵 - 𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 .
𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 - 𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 .

Bannut 'architect' from Heb. בָּנָה *bana* 'to build,' has the sign 𐎶𐎵𐎶 'rank or profession' put before it. *Nuzuk* is the Syriac נָצַח 'to be white, bright, or shining,' This verb *nuzuku* occurs also 2R 7, E line 4, where it expresses the shining of white alabaster.

I will now give two examples of the other spelling 𐎶𐎵 - 𐎶𐎵. Opp. Khors. pl. 19, l. 6. *Darumi mati-tan sha in emuk Ashur bil-ya aksuddu, as sipar gusurrakuti askun.* *Hekali satina astakkian simati.* 'The regions of all the world, which in the power of Ashur my Lord I had conquered, I had them engraved by the chisels of architects, and in those palaces I fixed them up.'—Again, in Esar. vi, 13 (which is somewhat defaced, but can be restored by help of the former passage), *Danan Ashur bil-ya sha as mati nakrati itibbusu, as sipar kharrakuti etziba kirêb-sha*; 'a tablet of Ashur my Lord,

showing what he had done to hostile countries, graven by the tool of the graver, I set up, as a monument, within it,' *i.e.* within my new palace. *Etziba* 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 'I set up a monument' Heb. *הציב*, see art. *Atzib*, Gloss. No. 166 (The lithograph has 𐎶 for 𐎶, which I take to be an error).

¶ In some other texts 𐎶𐎶 is to be read *banut* or *binut*, which is quite a different word.

372. **Kharrakuti.** 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 Sculptors: preceded by 𐎶𐎶 'rank or profession.' From an Assyrian verb *חרר* answering to the Heb. *חרט* 'to sculpture.' Several other verbs beginning with *חר* have the same meaning, as *חרש*, *חרת*, *חרצ* whence Gr. *χαρασσω*, *χαρττω*. The word occurs in Esar. vi, 13 (see the preceding article).

373. **Zap.** 𐎶𐎶 a Stylus, a Pen for writing. Schindler p. 478 has 𐎶𐎶 *Zip Stylus*. Buxtorf p. 665 says 𐎶𐎶 *Zipa Stylus*: *Cælum, sculpendi instrumentum*, quoting Exodus xxxii, 4, *וַיַּצַּר יְהוָה בַּיּוֹפָא* *et formavit illud stylo*. This is from the Targum, the Hebrew text has *חרט*.





Sargina says of himself, in the sixth line of his cylinder, *Ki ZAP Anu u Dagan isthuru zakut-zu*, "He wrote his laws with the pen of the gods!" This very high compliment, which is quite in character with his title of 'Vicegerent of Ashur' &c. has escaped the notice of Assyriologists.

That 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *zakut-zu* (which spelling I take from Oppert's edition) signifies 'his laws,' is manifest from other phrases, *ex. gr.* Norris p. 741, Opp. Khors. line 11, 𐎶𐎶 *Zakut Assur-ki* &c. 'the laws of Assyria which had long been set aside, and their customs neglected, I restored to their place.'—And in the Zaaleh stone (R pl. 66) 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *zakut* 'the statute' *sha uzakku* 'which they established' or 'made binding.' This word is the Heb. *זק* *zak* 'firmiter obligavit,' which has a reduplicate or more forcible form *זקק* (see Ges. p. 310).

374. **Kisák.** 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 a Band of Adherents. From the Hebrew *הקק* 'firmiter adhesit,' an interesting verb, since from it is formed the name of Hezekiah *הזקיה* or *הזקיהו* 'the firm

adherent of Jehovah,' יְהוָה or יְהוּ; a name which in those days when so many kings of Judah had lapsed into idolatry, was more than usually impressive. It may also be rendered 'he who cleaves to Jehovah.'

In 2R 38, 35 the following passage occurs—I have denoted the lines by numbers.—(1 to 6) *Marduk ana sup̄ti-su usari(ma)*. *Kisak turi ummani sunuti* (7) *ka, du, bit, ekil, u khar*, (8, 9, 10) *ana Marduk u Zarpanita uzakki sunuti*. i.e. (1 to 6) "I brought Marduk into his new Temple [or, raised him on his Throne]. A band of Youths who were to be his faithful adherents, (7) at the gate—on the road—in the house—in the field—in the forest, (8, 9, 10) unto Marduk and Zarpanita I bound them firmly." Line 7 means, of course, 'always and everywhere,' I bound them to this service—A band of devotees. I think I have seen the same form of oath in modern times, as taken by some religious brotherhoods, to be faithful to their Order on all occasions, or under every trial. The form of line 7, consisting of five short words, is precisely like what I have quoted in No. 222 from 2R 13, 28. *Bit, ekil, khar, ardu, shallat*. Indeed three of the words happen to be the same as in that line. But there is a little uncertainty about line 7. *Ka* may be 'speech;' *du* often means 'to walk, or go,' but is sometimes short for *duruk* 'a road.' *Khar* is short for *kharrish* 'a forest,' which is sometimes written at length. Line 7 may therefore mean 'in speaking—in walking—at home—in field or forest,' they devote themselves to the service of their god.

Sup̄ti 'a dwelling' or 'a seat, or throne' is spelt  as in several other passages. *Usarim* or *usarma*  (last letter gone) occurs rather frequently, *ex. gr.* black stone (R 50) iv, 26, *Zalam ili rabi uttish* I renewed the images of the great gods; as *bit*? *iluti-sun usarma*, into their divine temples? I brought them. *Umm̄ani* occurs here in its primitive sense of 'faithful' or 'faithful friends, φίλοι. Heb. מִן fidus, fidelis. *Uzakki* 'I bound them firmly,' from Heb. קָם 'firmiter obligavit.' spelt .—I gave another example of this word in the last article (No. 373) from the Zaaleh stone  *uzakki*.

¶ I take the translation *Ka* 'a gate' from Syll. 365, where
 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍 *Ká* is explained by 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 and by 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍 *Bab*,
 both of which signify 'a gate.'

375. *Zakhar*. *adj.* White. — Written in the oblique case
 𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 or 𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 (I have not met with
 the nominative). Agrees entirely with the Heb. צהר *albus*. —
 In 2 R7 E Sennacherib speaks of the white alabaster which he
 met with in the mountains of Nypur, apparently in his fifth
 campaign, when he passed through those mountains, see R39, 69
 𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 . 𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 . 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 . He caused bas reliefs,
 (*shallat zarati*) to be carved of this beautiful stone, and sent them
 to Niniveh. The stone is named 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 which seems
 connected with the *Alabaſturon* of the Greeks, since 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 may
 have had the sound of *al*, *allah*, or *alu*, and 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 may have
 sounded *ash-tar*. However this may be, the passage is curious.
 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 (stone) 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 (alabaster) 𐤏𐤍 (which) 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍
 (like) 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 . 𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 (white flour of wheat)
 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 [or in the other copy 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 *salu-su*] (its flour,
i.e. white powder or dust) 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 *nuzuku* (shone or
 glittered). That is to say, 'Alabaster stone, whose white dust
 glittered like white flour.' — Alabaster was perhaps at that time a
 novelty to the king. We may imagine him viewing with interest
 the progress of his sculptors, and the tables in the workshops
 covered with the white powder fallen from the stones. He was
 struck by its resemblance to flour, which is the case with no other
 stone used in sculpture unless perhaps Parian marble.

𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 is the flour of wheat, see Tig. vi, 103. Norris 721.
 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 or 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 *Salu* is the Chald. סלח or סולח *farina*,
 otherwise written סרת or סולתה Sch. 1224. Buxt. 1493. I
 know not how 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 was pronounced, but if *Sim* it resembles
 the Latin *simila*, Gr. *σμιδα-λῆς*, Chald. סמידה Arab. سميد
simid or *semid*, 'the finest flour of wheat.' — Sch. 1225. Buxt. 1495.

¶ Alabaster is the same substance (chemically speaking) as gypsum
 and plaster of Paris (sulphate of lime); and every one knows how
 great is the resemblance, externally, of plaster of Paris to the
 whitest flour


¶ There is a curious passage in this same inscription, which says
 “This stone he himself [the King] chose carefully in the mountains
 of Nypur: 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤃𐤓 . 𐤏𐤕𐤌𐤎𐤏𐤔𐤒 ramanu's
uddanni. From Ch. and Syr. *dana* דנא, in another conjugation
uddana, אודנא sollicitus fuit; vel, attentus, studiosus fuit
 (Schindler).

376. **Nuzuk.** ܢܘܙܝܟܐ, or ܢܘܙܝܟܐ. *verb*, to be White, Bright, or Shining. (may also be written *nuzzuk* or *nutzuk*). This is the Syriac ܢܘܙܝܟܐ. The derived adjective ܢܘܙܝܟܐ means (1) *purus*, (2) *λαμπρος*, *splendens*, *albicans*, *ex. gr.* as an epithet of a star: or of pellucid sparkling water: or of white linen or byssus. Castelli 563. Schaaf's *lex.* gives a similar account of the word.

Hence, precious stones in general are called *Nisikti* stones in Assyrian, see my No. 170, corrected by No. 250. *Nisikta* occurs in Syriac as a fem. plural נִסִּיקְתָּא, see Schaaf p. 357.

Examples of the verb *nuzuk*. Tig. vii, 95 describes the building of a *Bit illat* or 'apartment of splendour' of which the internal walls "*mahatish nuzuku*, were very bright or glistening—by the effect of the sculptor's chisel." They were therefore probably of white marble.

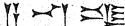

In R 7 E we find: *Shahu-su nuzuku*, 'its powder was shining white' (see these passages more fully given in Nos. 371 and 375).







Another interesting example of the word is found in B.M. 40, 5, where Sennacherib says ‘I made *shallat zazati* (bas reliefs) of the stone called *itsir rabu* 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎹 -  𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎹- “*sha zimi mutzuku kima tami*, ‘of which the broken pieces, or chips, were white and glistening like the day (or sky)’ *kilallan in shaddisun abduk, ana sipri hekali-ya usaldida kireb ir Nina*, ‘all of them I sculptured in their own mountains, and for the embellishment of my palace I had them carried to Niniveh.’—It is evident how close this statement is to that in R 7 E quoted in No. 375; extending even to the fact that Sennacherib had the slabs of stone sculptured on the spot where they were quarried.





























in the mountains, (probably those of Nypur); and to the remarkable whiteness of the chips or fragments. The two passages therefore confirm and explain each other. The *itsir rabu* may be 'white marble,' for two reasons, *first* because the name seems cognate with the verb *usatsir* 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 which is always employed in the sense of *skilful* or *artistic* work, and is a causative conjugation of the Heb. יצר *fixit, formavit*: *secondly* because of its having bright white fragments, a character which few other stones possess.


























Zimi 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 Chald. ܙܝܡܝ *rejectamenta* here probably 'chips' or 'fragments' left by the sculptors. *Abduk* 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, from the verb *patak* or *pitik* 'to sculpture,' which occurs very frequently. This word has been skilfully restored by Mr. Norris p. 848.





377. *Naru*. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, a Tablet, usually made of stone. This word is seldom employed; the usual term for a stone tablet being the Accadian 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 of which the pronunciation is uncertain. But the word *Naru* is used on some of the Michaux stones, and in the tablet K 240, which contains an instructive list of words synonymous with 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 'a tablet.' We find, besides 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, *Atzumitu*, and *Imbuhu* 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶; *Sikkatu* and *Masuktu* (which two last appear related to each other). Also two curious words denoting a sepulchral stone or monument, 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Abna abi bani* 'monument of a Father,' and 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Abna makhritu* 'monument of the departed'. This word *makhritu* is often used in Assyrian for 'the late,' 'the deceased,' just as the Greeks use ὁ μακαριστῆς in speaking of a person very recently dead. Indeed I think the Greek word is borrowed from the Assyrian, although the Greeks themselves doubtless assimilated it to their own language, and derived it from μακαρ 'blessed'. This tablet gives some other synonyms for a 'monumental stone' viz., 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *erimmatu* (this may possibly be Heb. ערמ 'a heap or mound,' which is the *Ερμα* of the Greeks). Also, 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Kapirru* Heb. קבר 'sepulcrum'; 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Matsabu* Heb. מצבה *matsaba*


'cippus,' a sepulchral monument; and finally,  *Anatu*, which may mean 'stone of sorrow' or 'sorrowful memorial,' from Heb.  to mourn or lament.

¶ Examples of the P.C. or Accadian word  *Sha*    *in bit-illan ashar la mari pisirish inakimu*, 'he who shall hide my tablets contemptuously in some back building, in a place where they cannot be seen'— *illan* 'behind.' *Pisirish* from Ch. and Syr.  *sprevit*, contempsit, neglexit—*Inakimu* 'shall hide,' from *nakam*; (hence *Bit nakimmat*, or *nakanti*, a room shut up; a treasury).








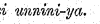
The following example is found in 1 Mich. iv, 21 (R pl. 70), 'May the great gods whose names are written in this tablet, curse him with a curse which cannot be removed!' *Ili rabi, mala in nari anni mu-sun zakru, arrat la napsuri liruru su!*                         *Mala* 'whosoever.' *Zakru* 'are written,' from  in Assyrian 'to write,' but in Hebrew 'to record.' *Nari* is substituted in 3 Mich. for    in this passage.

¶ It is uncertain how the word    was pronounced, but probably *Nadā*. For one of the values of  is *da* (see Norris p. vii and p. 268, quoting Sard. i, 25    *darish* 'for ever.') Moreover in tablet K 240, already mentioned, next to    *Nadā*, stands    *Nadū*; and            .

378. *Nuru*.   or   a Tablet. (seemingly a variation of the last word).—Tig. vi, 15 describes how the city of Khunutsa was taken and destroyed. The whole city was burnt. The Citadel with its three great towers of brick was thrown down, burnt, and reduced to ruins and rubbish. The very site of the city was obliterated, by heaps of stones thrown over it. The account then continues as follows: *Nuru takabar ebus, kisiti mati sha in Ya bil-ya aksudu. Ir suatu ana la zabati, u Dur-su la razapi in eli althur: bit sha agamri in eli-su arzip, nuru takabar sa-atun in libbi usasib*—'I made tablets

of bronze, obtained in the lands which in the name of Jah my lord I had conquered. I displayed upon them that city [Khumutsa] as it was *BEFORE* it was taken; and its Citadel, as it was *BEFORE* it was burnt. Then I erected a building of brick, and those tablets of bronze I placed therein. In this passage  *Razapi*, is the Chald. רשפ 'to burn;' subst. 'coals of fire.'

Another example is found in Opp. Khors. line 135—*Nuru ekili-sun, sha ultu tami ulluti in isiti mûti Zuti ekimû, ramanûssun utirru*; 'the tablets [*i.e.* landmarks] of their fields, which a long while ago from many estates the Zuti had carried off, I restored to themselves [*i.e.* the right owners]. These *Nuru* or landmarks were a sort of title deeds, showing to every passer by to what family a field belonged. The *Zuti* appear to have been a tribe of savage warriors, allies of Merodach Baladan. They were all put to death by Sargina. *Isiti* estates, holdings, possessions; from *isa* to have or possess. *Ekimû*, observe the lengthened vowel which marks the pluperfect tense, 'they had seized (a long time ago). So in the first example of this article, *aksud* is 'I acquired or took,' but *aksudru* (pluperf.) 'I had acquired' (some time before).

379. *Liki*.  *verb* 'to Receive.' Heb. לקח 'cepit, accepit,' etiam 'cepit auribus; percepit.' Greek λαχων. In 2 R 66, 7 the goddess Beltis has the following epithets: *Samat ikribi, likat unnini*; 'She who hears our prayers, and receives our supplications.' Here  is the feminine participle. This example is fully confirmed by another taken from the the tablet 120 otherwise 89b where Ashurbanipal addresses Marduk  .  .  .  .  .  , *Liki unnini-ya. Simi kala-ya*; Receive my prayers! Hear my voice!

Simi is the Heb. שמע 'to hear:' its participle feminine is *amat* 'she who hears,' auditrix (see the first example)—*Kala* 'voice' is evidently the Chald. קל Heb. קול 'voice.' I do not recollect however to have met the word elsewhere.

380. Zitta. 𐤆𐤀𐤆𐤌 𐤆𐤀𐤆𐤌 Oil. (Lat. *Oleum. Oliva*). Heb. *Zit* זית Syr. *Zita*, and the same in all the Semitic languages. I have only found the word hitherto in the name of the city *Bit-Zitta*, 'the City of Olives' which is mentioned as one of those captured by Sennacherib on the seacoast of Palestine R 38, 39.

381. Suman or Summannu. 𐤆𐤌𐤎 𐤆𐤌𐤎 Butter. The same with the Chald. שמן Butyrum; Arab. سمن and سمان (Schindler). This appears to me to be the meaning of the gloss in 2 R 7, 29 𐤆𐤌𐤎 𐤆𐤌𐤎 . 𐤆𐤌𐤎 . 𐤆𐤌𐤎 *Sumannu sha Ga*, 'butter of the Cow.' All this column consists of words beginning with SM therefore I read *sumannu* or *summannu*. 𐤆𐤌𐤎 is a term for unctuous substances in general, as grease, fat, oil, unguent, &c. Hence for distinction's sake the Arabic expresses 'butter' by 𐤆𐤌𐤎 בקרי 'butyrum de vaccâ.' (Sch.)

382. Bará. 𐤁𐤓𐤀𐤁 𐤁𐤓𐤀𐤁 *adj.* Fat. Heb. בריא 'pinguis,' *ex. gr.* decem boves pingues בריאי 1 Kings iv, 23. But the word may equally well be read 𐤁𐤓𐤀𐤁 𐤁𐤓𐤀𐤁 *Mará* (which Norris prefers, p. 847) for, the Hebrew is also written בריא, which is a good example of the connexion between the letters B and M.

Phill. i, 16. *Sha tamu I ga makkhi bara.* 'Every day one ox, large and fat, and one other ox (&c. &c.) I allotted to the gods of Babylon as their portion.' This has much resemblance to what we read in 1 Kings iv, 23—"Solomon's provision for one day was ten fat oxen and twenty other oxen," (&c. &c.)

383. Pattaruna. 𐤆𐤌𐤎 𐤆𐤌𐤎 𐤆𐤌𐤎 *adj.* Fat. Agrees well with the Heb. פטר פטר 'fat;' the final N augmenting the meaning, as in many other words.

Esar. iii, 59. *Ga makkhi pattaruna*, 'oxen large and fat.' This was part of the tribute of Bel-basa king of Gambuli, whom Esarhaddon thereupon confirmed in his kingdom, and having made his capital city Shapi-Bel into a strong fortress, commissioned him to watch the frontier of Elam.

384. Paklut. 𐤆𐤌𐤎 𐤆𐤌𐤎 𐤆𐤌𐤎 *adj.* Fat.

Ga makhe pakluti, 'oxen large and fat' Phill. iii, 9. I know not whether the Greek πᾶχυς is related.

385. *Lu*. 𐎡𐎢𐎣 = 𐎡𐎢𐎣 = a Bull or Ox.—2 R 25, 7 explains *Lu* by 𐎡𐎢𐎣 = 𐎡𐎢𐎣 *Albu* 'bull' Heb. אֵלֶּפֶס (Gloss. No. 298). Also I find on a tablet the Accadian *Ga kim* 'like a bull' rendered by the Assyrian *kima Lie*. Moreover the sacred images of bulls are often called 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎡𐎢𐎣 *Lu shaddi*. And see Norris p. 855 where they are called in one copy *Lu shaddi* and in the other 𐎡𐎢𐎣 = 𐎡𐎢𐎣. This last is explained by 𐎡𐎢𐎣 = 𐎡𐎢𐎣 *shaedu* (good spirit or genius) in Norris p. 32. Hence I think that *lu shaddi* is but another form of *lu shaedi* divine bulls.

386. *Suru*. 𐎡𐎢𐎣 = 𐎡𐎢𐎣 = 𐎡𐎢𐎣 a Bull. Agrees with the Heb. שׁוֹר *Sur* 'a bull.' In 2 R 25, 8 we find the explanation 𐎡𐎢𐎣 = 𐎡𐎢𐎣 = 𐎡𐎢𐎣. 𐎡𐎢𐎣 = 𐎡𐎢𐎣 i.e. *Suru* means *Albu* (a bull).

Another example, from Sen. T. v, 74. (Norris p. 867) *Kima suri maruti* 'like fattened oxen' 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎡𐎢𐎣. 𐎡𐎢𐎣 = 𐎡𐎢𐎣 = 𐎡𐎢𐎣. 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎡𐎢𐎣 = 𐎡𐎢𐎣. This occurs in the account of the battle of Khaluli. The Chiefs of the Enemy, wearing collars of gold and swords with golden sheaths, appeared to Sennacherib an easy prey, and a tempting booty, just as the capture might be of a herd of fat beeves, offering no resistance.


















387. *Kurutz*. 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎡𐎢𐎣 = 𐎡𐎢𐎣 A piece cut off—a joint—a morsel. Exactly the Chald. קֻרֻץ *kurutz* 'frustum': which occurs in Daniel iii, 8 and vi, 25 אֲבָל קֻרֻצֵי comediti frusta (Ges.): and the same phrase is found in Syriac.

Nibritu izbat-zunuti. Ana buri-sun seri abli-sun binti-sun ekilu, ikzutzu kurutzu. A Famine seized them. For food they ate the limbs of their sons and daughters, and cut them up into morsels. Smith's *Assurbanipal** p. 163. *Ikzutzu* is from the Heb. קָצַץ amputavit, abscidit, dissecuit.





388. *Buru*. 𐎡𐎢𐎣 = 𐎡𐎢𐎣 Food. Heb. בָּרוֹת 'cibus,' from בָּרָה or בָּרָא 'comedit,' ex. gr. בָּרָה לֶחֶם 'to eat bread.' Gesenius thinks this Hebrew word cognate with *βopa* and *vorare*. Add the Germ. *Brod*, which closely resembles בָּרוֹת, and the Welsh *Bara* 'bread.' An example of the word *Buru* will be found in






* Quotations from this new work will usually be denoted by the abbreviation *Assur*.

the last article. Another occurs in Smith's Assurbanipal p. 193
in the narrative of a shipwreck, 𐎶 𐎵𐎠𐏀 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐏀 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐏀 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐏀
ana buri-sun, 'for their food' [*the following words are lost*].
























389. Lu.  a Table. Heb.  *Luḥ* Tabula. .
             

390. **Maskita.** ✠ 𐤇𐤍 𐤔𐤕 Wine mixed with Spices. In Hebrew מֶסְכָּה or מֶסְכָּת Psalm 75, 9—Gesenius says ‘vinum mixtum, i.e. aromatibus.’—See also Proverbs ix, 2. Isaiah v, 22.
𐤔𐤕 ✠ 𐤇𐤍 𐤔𐤕 𐤔𐤕 *Kurun maskita sha Sar*: spiced wine for the king. 2 R 44, 10.

391. **Kurun.**   =  ✱ Wine. Often replaced by the monogram . Seems related to the Heb. כרם a Vine, or Vineyard.

Akul akalu, siti kurunnu! eat food, drink wine! Assur. 125 translated by Mr. G. Smith. In R 7 No. ix A the king is represented pouring a libation upon four dead lions before an altar and the inscription says: *Kurun akka eli-sun*, I poured a libation of wine upon them. *Kurun* is written , *akka* from the Heb. נקה 'libavit.'— 'water and wine' 2 R 44, 8; opposite which is written  which may be *kasim* 'goblets' Heb. כוס.—Same page l. 13  followed by  *kharrubu*, may be flasks or skins of wine. Ch. נרר uter, lagena vini.

The sign for 'wood' or 'vegetable' 𐎶 is sometimes prefixed *ex. gr.* Oppert's Sargon folio p. 16 in the description of a famine. "The poor people could get no food: *Ina zabal karani akula ana kharsu*, with the skins (or dregs) of grapes (they found) food for their bellies." 𐎶𐎵 refuse; 𐎶𐎶 food; 𐎶𐎶𐎶 belly. I have supplied the letter 𐎶𐎶 which seems wanting after *akula*. But the meaning of the passage and even its reading, is uncertain.

Sometimes    are tangled creepers Anglicè *Bines*, *F. Lianes*.—See Assur. 267 in the account of Assurbanipal's army struggling through a forest, and impeded by                    

perhaps *thorns* or *brambles* for I find in 2 R 45, 59 this word, or $\text{𐎶 𐎶𐎵} \rightarrow \text{𐎶𐎶𐎶} \text{ 𐎶𐎶}$ which is equivalent to it (putting the Accadian plural 𐎶𐎶 *ra* instead of the Assyrian 𐎶𐎶𐎶) explained by *akhartannu* or *akhartan* 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 probably 'thorns' from the Syriac ܐܚܪܬ a sharp point, and when used as a verb 'to pierce.'

In Bavian 19 we read that Sennacherib planted near Niniveh

$\text{𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ Woods and Vineyards.

𐎶 The monogram 𐎶𐎶 is explained *karanu* in 2 R 45, 58 and also in Syl. 173.

392. *Azzari*. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 a Bird. This is the same as *izzuri* 'a bird' 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (Gloss. No. 10): but so distinct a form deserves to be mentioned. *Kina azzari edish ipparsid*, like a bird he fled away alone. R 39, 48.

393. *Atalu*. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶 an Eclipse. Syriac ܐܬܠܐ shadow.

In 3 R 58 No. 8 l. ult. the usual symbol for an eclipse

$\rightarrow \text{𐎶} \leftarrow \text{𐎶}$ (divine darkness) is explained by the gloss *Atalu*.

394. *Mi*. $\leftarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow$ Night. $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ Five days and nights—3 R 12, slab ii, 30. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 , Day and night. 2 R 32, 4. See more examples under *Zalmu* No. 396 and *Mi* No. 268.





395. *Takhatu*. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 Night. (see Gloss. No. 26.)



Another example of this word is found in 3 R 55, 50 "Offer a sacrifice (*likrubu*) to the god Yem and Ishtar in the night time,

$\rightarrow \text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ as *takhati*.—In 3 R 66 Yem, Ishtar, and other gods are sacrificed to by starlight, (reverse col. 1, 13) and by moonlight (obverse col. 5, 25).







396. *Zalmu*. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 Darkness. This is exactly the Arabic ظلم *zalm* 'dark' otherwise *zālām* (in Catafago p. 433).—In 3 R 59, No. 7 and No. 9 $\leftarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow$ (darkness) is twice explained by *zalmu*, and in 2 R 49, 42 by *zalmi*. The Hebrew equivalent is צלם 'umbra' Psalm xxxix, 7 (the original root is צל)—Gesenius says that צלם *imago* is the same word; because an *imago* is the $\sigma\kappa\iota\alpha$ of the object.







In 2 R 37, 30 a bird (probably the Owl) is called *Itsar musi*





(bird of night) and also   *zalamu*, and   *zalamdu*. These two words are evidently derived from *zalam* or *zalmu* darkness.




397. *Kil*.   *Sand*. See the account of the shipwreck of Tammariu king of Elam in Assur. p. 192. "The ship of Tammariu was caught by a terrible tempest. The steersman of the ship leaped from the ship upon the *sand*. Tammariu following after him was thrown on the dangerous rocky ground, and very much injured."

The last two clauses stand thus in the original. *Sikudi abati* the steersman of the ship, *sû* leaped, *ultu kireb elip suatu* from out of that ship, *ana kili* upon the sand. *Tammariu ana arka su* after him, *issi* was thrown. *Marustu haggar namratsi* the dangerous stony ground, *uparriru's* much wounded him.

Here we have   *sikudi* 'the watchman' from Heb.  to watch or keep guard. I translate it however 'the steersman,' according to the lines of Æschylus (Sept. c. Theb. l. 3) *Oiaaka nomon—blephara me koiwon upnō* 'the ever-watching or ever-wakeful steersman'—  *abati* 'the ship.' This is a most interesting word, because it occurs once, and once only, in the Old Testament, being in all probability the  of Job ix, 26 where the commentators disagree exceedingly as to its meaning (except that it is a *ship* of some kind). It is therefore very satisfactory to find it in Assyrian.

 *Sû* 'he leaped' is the Ch. and Syr.  'cum impetu eucurrit.'—  *Kili* 'the sand' agrees entirely with the Chald.  and Heb.  'arena in litore maris.'

398. *Urku*, a Dog. Some further examples may be added to those contained in No. 369. Assur. p. 166 "I caused their flesh to be eaten by dogs, *usakil kalbi* (or *urki*  )—*Usakil* is the S conjugation of *akal* 'to eat' Heb. . Again in the next page 'I threw their bodies as food to the dogs' *rihit kalbi* (or *urki*). *Rihit* 'food' from Heb.  to feed.

In 2 R 42, 67 there is a gloss which identifies the meaning of *urku* with the Heb. *kaleb*. For,    is there

explained by $\gg\gg\gg\langle$ Ψ $\rightarrow\star$. $\gg\gg\gg$ Σ *lishan kalbi* the tongue of a dog. In the preceding line the Accadian $\gg\gg\gg$ voice or mouth, takes the place of *lishan*. Moreover, if we can trust these glosses, one of the synonyms of *Urku* was *Tsir* $\gg\gg\gg\langle$. This, if true, is curious, because I have shown in Art. No. 108 of this glossary that the Assyrian mythology possessed (no doubt in Hades) a seven-headed monster called a $\gg\gg\gg\langle$ *Tsir*, and therefore it was probably a seven-headed dog, a sort of Cerberus.

In 3 R 65, No. 2 reverse, *urmakh* and *urku* (lion and dog) are repeatedly mentioned together. This tablet relates dreams of some portentous births; such as (1) having the head of a lion or dog (2) altogether like a lion or dog (*kilallan* $\langle\gg\gg\gg$ Γ $\gg\gg\gg$ $\rightarrow\star$ altogether, $\langle\gg\gg\gg$ *kima* like, $\gg\gg\gg$ $\gg\gg\gg$ *urmakh* a lion).

In tablet K 217 there is a list of *urku* 'dogs' and *ur shal* which I suppose means 'female dogs,' but this is uncertain.

399. **Kun.** $\gg\gg\gg$ otherwise $\rightarrow\star\rightarrow\gg\gg\gg$ a Tail. 2 R 34, 21 *Kun sha kalbi*, 'tail of a dog,' $\gg\gg\gg$ Ψ . $\gg\gg\gg$ Σ .



Kunut-zun 'their tails' $\rightarrow\star\rightarrow\gg\gg\gg$ $\gg\gg\gg$ $\rightarrow\star$ occurs in the tablet about dogs and lions 3 R 65 No. 2 reverse line 64, which also speaks of 'their heads,' 'their faces,' &c. &c.









I have already noticed in a former article, that in the dog tablet K 236 *kunut-zun* 'their tails' occurs twice, written $\rightarrow\star\rightarrow\gg\gg\gg$ $\leftarrow\leftarrow$ Γ $\rightarrow\star$; and the passage in the hunting scene, *Urmakh as kun azbat* "I seized the Lion by his tail," where the sculpture confirms the inscription.

I will add a very different example of the word, viz. the Assyrian description of a *Comet*. "Star which has before it a *corona* or glory (*tsipra* Heb. צפר 'corona caput ambiens') and behind it a *tail*." 3 R 52, 55, this curious passage has been noted by Sir H. Rawlinson and Mr. G. Smith. The original words are $\gg\gg\gg$ $\rightarrow\star$ Ψ \rightarrow \langle Γ $\gg\gg\gg$. \rightarrow $\gg\gg\gg$ Ψ Γ $\rightarrow\star\rightarrow\gg\gg\gg$. *Kakkab sha as pan-su tsipra, as arka-su kun.*

Π In 2 R 20, 41 we find *Nuzur sha kun*, which apparently means 'wagging the tail' from Hebrew נזר .

- 𐎧𐎶𐎵𐎥𐎶𐎥𐎶𐎥𐎶𐎥𐎶𐎥𐎶 (gold) is translated on a tablet *Khuraza russá*.

402. **Anna.**   Lead. This is the Accadian word which translates the Assyrian *Anak* in the preceding passage. It occurs very frequently, even in Assyrian writings, while *Anak* is seldom found.



403. **Nazir.**    a Royal Crown. Agrees exactly with the Heb. נִזְר which Gesenius renders Diadema: specialiter regis. I find on a tablet *nazir rabu* rendered in Accadian   *mir rabu*, which means as we know 'a great crown,' see the art. *Mir* No. 156. It is added that this *nazir* was worn 'on his head,' *as risi-su*    I.


Saul wore his *nazir* on his head in battle. 2 Sam. i, 10.

404. Amia. 𐎶 𐎠𐎵 𐎶 a Crown (in Accadian). In 2 R 24, 60 and also 32, 13 we have 𐎶 𐎠𐎵 𐎶 rendered by the Assyrian 𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎶 = *Agû*, 'a crown.' And on the tablets *amia-kim* is frequently rendered *kima agie*, 𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶 = 𐎶 being the plural of *Agû*.



405. **Karpa.** 𐤏𐤌𐤏 a water-vessel or flaggon. Same as the Syriac *garba* ܓܪܒܐ Chald. ܓܪܒܐ *uter, lagena, hydria*. Compare also the Greek *Καλπίς* used by Homer and Pindar for a water-vessel or pitcher. The Accadian word corresponding is 𐤠𐤌𐤏 *Duk*, perhaps connected with the Greek *Τεγγος* a vessel or urn.

Mie sunati ana karpati tar-ma, return those waters into the pitcher! (*Tablet.*)

And I find among the curses, two consecutive lines: "May they pour him out like water: may they break him like the pitcher!" The Accadian words are  *A-kim*, and  *Duk-kim*; the Assyrian *kima nie* and *kima karpati*.




But the word  or *karpa* is sometimes used for a very costly vessel, apparently one employed in the Mysteries, as in the following two lines, of which the first only has been published by Mr. G. Smith in his *Assurbanipal*, p. 332.





As passuri illiti, akalu illiti akul!



As karpātī   *illiti, mie illiti siti!*



Eat the precious food, out of a precious dish!


Drink the precious drink, out of a precious vessel!





 An epithet   whose meaning is at present unknown, is here given to the vessel.




406. *Immiri*.   Sheep or Lambs. Chald.  *Agnus*; which makes in the plural . I think there can be no doubt of this word. An Accadian tablet has, in two consecutive lines,










  *Ga kim* 'like oxen': translated *kima Alpi*.

  *Lu kim* 'like sheep': translated *kima Immiri*.

Some have rendered *Immiri* by 'asses,' supposing it to be the Heb. , but this is quite unsuitable. In *Phill. iii, 12*, 'fat oxen' are sacrificed, and immediately afterwards *immir gukkallam*, probably 'fat sheep.' So also in *2 R 38, 30* *kabū alpi* 'a drove of oxen' stands next to *kabū imiri* 'a flock of sheep.'

The following is another example of the word. *Kima immiri itbukk-su*, 'it slays him like a sheep.' The verb    *itbukk* is the Heb.  'mactavit pecudem.'

407. *Suhi*.   Lambs. Heb.  *ovis*, vel *agnus*. In *Opp. Khors. 19 l. ult.* *suhi maruti* (fat lambs) are offered to the gods at a festival, along with *ga makhi bitruti* (fatted oxen).

408. *Huk*.  a Flock. *2 R 38, 26* where it is explained by   *Kabū* a drove or flock. The word is commonly written    as in my art. 304, but I now think this is a compound word,  'flock,'  'sheep,'  'many':—"Large flocks of sheep."

409. **Maruti.** 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 Fat. Heb. מריא pinguis, saginatus. *Suhi maruti* 'fat lambs': *Suri maruti* 'fat oxen.' Sen. T. v. 74. 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 'fat sheep.' Layard's Inscriptions, 34, 1.

410. **Bitruti.** 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 Fat. *Ga makkhi bitruti*, fine fat oxen. xvi *pasilli bitruti*, sixteen fat (...) Phill. ii, 27, and Opp. Khors. 19 l. ult. These were offered in the temple every day.

411. **Dussuti.** 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 Fat. Probably from the Hebrew דשן to be fat. 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 *dussuti* . . . *lu-akki*, fat sheep I sacrificed. Bavian 33, quoted by Norris Dict. p. 639.

412. **Bunnanni.** 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 Statues. A very common word, used in such phrases as "Whoever destroys my *bunnanni*, let him be accursed!" The meaning is ascertained by a tablet, which translates *bunnanni* and *zalam* by the same word. The latter is the Heb. צלם a statue.

413. **Ekal, or Hekal.** 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 a Palace: the Hebrew היכל. This word is very seldom found phonetically written: it is generally expressed by 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 which means 'the Great House.' In Assyrian this would sound *Bit Rab*, but in Accadian *He-kal*, from *He* 'house' and *Kal* or *Gal* 'great.' In ancient Egyptian also *He* signified 'a house.' The Turkish family of languages in general have *Hu*. Hence we see that the cuneiform texts give us a clear and simple etymology of the Hebrew היכל, respecting which there is nothing satisfactory in the lexicons.

Example: 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 this means "at the gate of the temple"; and immediately afterwards it is phonetically written 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 . 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 as *bab Ekalli*.

414. **Bu.** 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 the Mouth. This word is given by Norris (Dict. p. 63) quoting 39 II where it is explained by the Accadian 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Ka* 'the mouth' a very common word. He adds that it is the Heb. פה the mouth. But as he adduces no example I will give one from a tablet, which says of the waters of the Euphrates *Bu illu sha Bit-a ullil sunuti*, "the grand mouth of

Neptune (or Ocean) drinks up those waters." So it does, however, every other river: but let that pass. *Ullil* is the Arab. يُشْرِبُ to drink copiously, or in repeated draughts. Gesen. p. 769. The cuneiform is 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.

































¶ Another form is 𐎶𐎵𐎶, as in 2 R 17, 32 where *bū sinu* is rendered in Accadian 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. The genitive case is *Pi* 𐎶𐎵𐎶.

415. *Anni* 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, or *Anna* 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 Sins: faults: crimes. *Annū-a* 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 "my sins." This is the Hebrew עון peccatum, crimen, perversitas, pravitas, actio prava. Perhaps Hebrew scholars will be pleased to see this word in its old Chaldean form. I will give some examples from an Assyrian tablet, which may be likened to a "penitential psalm." *Billi! annū-a mahida, rabā khidatū-a*, O my Lord! my many sins, my great offences [pardon].


Anni ebusu val idi! the crimes I have done, know them not! (The Latins use the same idiom, *ignosce!* that is, *know not!* and the Accadian agrees, *nun zu!* i.e. know not!)

Another example, of same general meaning: *Anna ebus, sáru latbul:* (meaning of two last words uncertain). In all these cases the Accadian version of *anna*, *anni* or *annu* is *naram-tagga*, which completely identifies them, as forms of the same word. Other petitions are interspersed for pardon of sins, in which other words are used, as 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *Khit* 'crime' Heb. חטא Norris's Dict. p. 407, and *Killatū-a* 'my sins' 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 Heb. כרילי fraudulentus, dolosus. These have the epithet *mahadati* great or numerous. Another example. *Khit ikhtu* the sins which I have sinned, *nun zu*, know them not! The scribe has omitted to translate the latter clause, probably deeming it too easy.




416. *Kakku*, or *Kak*. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 gen. *Kakki* 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 a Sword. Perhaps connected with the Heb. root קח 'to cut.' Occurs rather frequently. Expressed in Assyrian by 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 (see my No. 302). But since the sign 𐎶𐎵𐎶 determinative of wooden objects, seems unsuitable, I conjecture that 𐎶𐎵𐎶 is a very ancient










corruption of the Accadian  *kak* obtained by removing the vertical wedge a little towards the right hand. *Example*: "The god (. . . .) lord of the sword, will never give him his sword of strength, upon the battle field." This stands thus in Assyrian: *Bil kakki kak dannuti-su ai ittan-su ashar gabi u takhazi*. The Accadian has                               

417. Kakkab. ♂ >III a Star. Agrees exactly with the Heb.
כוכב. Examples: ♂ >III . ♀ III < as kakkab
shamami val utaddû "to the stars of heaven he paid no attention"
(or did not observe them). The Accadian version has >>♂-♀
'stars' >♂ >♀ 'of heaven.' Again: *kima kakkab shamami*
'like the stars of heaven': where the Accadian renders 'heaven'
by >♂ simply.

I have already given the adverb *kakkabish shamami*
‘like the stars of heaven’ see No. 246. Its spelling is
.

418. **Kakkad**, 𐤏𐤊𐤏𐤁 the Head. I find this to be a very frequent word. It seems an abbreviation of the old Hebrew *Kadkad* קדקד 'the head.' I formerly read *Hakkad* (see No. 108) but I have now adopted the pronunciation given by Oppert and others. Occasionally I find 𐤏𐤊𐤏𐤁𐤏 *kaksu* written for *kakkadu*, which may be only a more rapid pronunciation.

¶ The three last words together with   *Kaggar* 'the Earth' (see No. 109) comprise all the substantives at present known to me which begin with the syllable  *kak*.

419. **Nin.**   a Lord. In 2 R 58, 56 the god   Hēa (or Bitā) is called the Nin (or Lord) of the Bright Face (or Bright Eye)  . *Nin* being written   in Col. 1, but  in Col. 2.

420. Nini. 𐎢𐏁 𐎢𐏁. This is explained by 𐎢𐏁 𐎢𐏁𐎠𐎹𐎶 *Ilu*
(gods) in Syllab. 688. It therefore seems to be properly the
plural of the preceding word *Nin* (No. 419). I have found some

&c., &c. [This ornament belongs] to Hipa wife of [Sinesses].
Sha Hipa ashat-zu sha Sinesses. North British Review, No. 105,
 p. 234 (correcting an error).

423. **Dam.** 𐎠𐎣 a Consort: used (like the Latin *conjux*), for either husband or wife. It is an Accadian word.

2 R 10, line 2. 𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎣. If a *wife* to her *husband* [shall say] 𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎣 my husband [thou art not]

In line 9 these words recur, but with an opposite meaning: "if a *husband* to his *wife* shall say 'thou art not my wife' &c., &c." In consequence probably of this ambiguity of meaning we frequently find after the name of a god, that of the goddess his wife thus expressed 𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎣 *dam-bi shal* 'his female consort.'










424. **Shal makra.** 𐎠𐎣. 𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎣 a Concubine. Means literally, 'an additional or irregular or casual wife.' The word *makra* is the Heb. מקרה *fortuitus*: thus, the second month of Adar, called Ve-Adar by the Hebrews, was called by the Assyrians *Arakhu makru* 'the casual month' 𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎣. See Norris's Dictionary p. 50.









Oppert's Khors. Inscr. pl. 12, l. 3. "I destroyed his city. I carried off his wife, his sons and daughters, his wealth and treasures, his *concubines*, the regalia of his palace, with the people of his land. I left none of them." Here the word used is 𐎠𐎣. 𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎣. It occurs also in a curious passage in 2 R 16, col. ii, 67. "*Shal makra sha bil-su imsu-su, ibbati khisukhta-su-ma innapiritsi*: the concubine whom her lord neglects, will break to pieces her pretty trinkets that she loved." The verb in this sentence is a tense of the Heb. פרץ 'to break.' *Ibbati* from Heb. יפה *pulcher*.














425. **Zikriti.** 𐎠𐎣. 𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎣 Concubines. (Sometimes written without the 𐎠𐎣). Often mentioned as captured along with the family and treasures of a monarch. Assur. p. 132, 165, 200, &c.






426. **Marhita.** 𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎣 a Wife. See 2 R 36, lines 44 and 46, where it is explained by *khirta* and *ashata*.





Related to the Arabic *Marra* or *Mara*, مَرَّة a woman or wife. It seems to be a diminutive, like *unmanita* from *umman* 'mother.'














427. **Khirat.**   a Wife: otherwise     
Khirtu: plur.      *Khirati*. Gula the great goddess, wife (*khirat*) of the meridian sun (1 Mich. iv. 6). The gods and their great wives, *khirati-sun rabati*. Botta 153, 12.




     *Khiraia* (wife) was the name of one of the goddesses, who was queen of the city called *Susinna*, otherwise *Sisanna*. 2 R 59, 18 and 60, 17: of which name the god *Sin*    forms an integral part.

428. **Amilu.**   or   a Man. A very common word on the tablets, but little used in the historical inscriptions, except in the Persian period: gen. *Amili*    
Amilu Parsai, a Persian (see No. 103). Plur. *Amilut*      *Sha amilut iddinu, sha tuki ana amilut iddinu*, who men gave, who their fortunes to men gave.

Amilutu is likewise used in the singular, and written      ex. gr. *lú sarru, lú issakku, lú amilutu mala suma nabu* whether he be a king, or a priest, or any man however his name is called.

429. **Imatti.**    the Right Hand: put for *imanti* from  'dexter,' as *libitta* for *libinta*.

The god  or *Im* was the Jupiter Tonans of the Latins. We read that the lightnings of Im (      *rikhisti Im*) were held in his right hand (as *imatti Im*) where the meaning is clearly ascertained by the Accadian version       *It zida* being the Right Hand.

430. **Simta.**    a Fabric. (Heb. שׂוּם to make, compose or put together).

"O Fire! of every thing which can be named, the fabric thou makest! Of bronze and lead the melter art thou! Of gold and silver the purifier art thou!" The first of these lines stands thus in the original: *Nin sha suma nabu simta taskan-ma*. Here *Nin*

must mean 'everything.' It usually means 'nothing' or 'no one.' Similar changes occur in other languages: thus the French *aucun* originally meant 'some,' but now it has the meaning of 'none.'

431. **Atmu.** 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎶 Food. 3R 58, No. 5 (sometimes has a final vowel 𐎠𐎵𐎶 or 𐎠𐎶). *Atmu kienu as pi nisi ishkan*, 'there shall be abundant food in the mouths of men.'—In Oppert's Sargon, folio edition, in the description of a famine: *Atmu risiti* (the food of the poor) *edir-imma* (was entirely wanting). This verb is 𐎠𐎶𐎵 *privatus fuit*: *diminutus fuit*: *defuit*. (Schindler).

¶ The etymology of *Atmu* is rather doubtful. We may compare the Heb. טעם 'to eat.'

432. **Takabar.** 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶 Copper (*Accadian*). A very frequent word. Esar. vi, 8, of a new palace: *Sikkat kaspa ibbi u takabar namri urattá kireb-sha*, 'with plates of pure silver and polished copper I lined its interior.'

433. **Kiebar.** 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶 Copper. In 2R 18, 54 the *Accadian takabar kim* is rendered in Assyrian *kima kiebar*. And so it is in other places.

Kiebar seems related to *Cuprum*: æs *Cyprium*: Copper; and even the *Accadian Takabar* seems referable to the same root.

434. **Pasalli.** 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 Sculptured images of metal. Heb. פסילי *sculptura*, *idolum*. 3R 13, 29. Sennacherib placed in his new palace great beams (*timmi danni*) of cypress, cedar, and other woods which were covered with *pasalli* (images) and *kaspi* (silver). Compare Isaiah xxx, 22. כסף פסילי כסף *pasili kaspa*, idols of silver.

435. **Padi.** 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 a Sceptre. *Nabiu nash padi tsirti tsirti*, 'Nebo bearing the sceptre lofty ... lofty' (*the rest is broken off*). The *Accadian* renders *padi* by 𐎠𐎶𐎶 'sceptre' (see No. 141 of the Glossary) and gives a complete sense, viz. *Gathula* (lifting up) 𐎠𐎶𐎶 . 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 (the lofty sceptre) *sidie* (governing) 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 (mankind).

Similarly, Nergilissar says that Nebo had given him his own sceptre of justice, to rule the people, and govern the land—R 67, 12, and similar mentions of the divine sceptre of Nebo are frequent.

It occurs frequently on the astrological tablets, for instance 3 R 60, 96 . Sar *kussati ilabbar* the king of the nation shall grow old upon his throne. In l. 102 also is coupled with *guru* 'the throne.'

439. *Irsu*. a King. In B.M. 38, 2 and R 43, 2 Sennacherib is called *Lulimu irsu* 'the noble king.' In 3 R 12, 1 the phrase is *Irsu itpisu*, for which Taylor has *Rihu itpisu*, while Oppert (folio p. 15, 34) has *Sarru itpisu*.















440. *Ukku*. a King. (meant 'great man : ' identical with the Medo-Scythic *ukku* 'great,' see Norris's Scythic vocabulary p. 181). Several examples of this word occur in 2 R 47, which are all rendered by the Assyrian *Sar*. The phrase *Sar ana Sar*, king to king (sends greeting) is rendered *Uk ku Uk*; the syntax of which is, *Uk ku* (unto a king) *Uk* (another king) sends greeting. This phrase *Sar ana Sar* is common on the Omen tablets.

441. *Lila*, the Night. More examples of this important word are desirable (see some in No. 25). I find the following on a tablet : *Lila ana mazarti tushasib, usib* : 'at night thou didst set me to watch ; and I sat (watching).' Here *lila* is written . The Accadian version of *ana mazarti* is *innun-ku*.

442. *Lilita*. a Goblin of the Night. This is a very interesting word, because it is exactly the Hebrew לילית Spectrum Nocturnum. In a numerous list of sprites and demons the following occurs *Lú lîlú, lú lîlita* "whether it be a male or female goblin of the night."

443. *Gallil*. verb, to be wicked. (*Amilut*) *lú ugallil, lú udamnik, nin val idi* : 'no one knows (of a man) whether he be wicked, or whether he be righteous.' The meaning of the two verbs is fixed by the Accadian translation (wicked) and (righteous). [The second verb *damnik* is very common and its meaning well known.]

444. *Gallú*. an Evil Spirit, sometimes written . In Accadian . Apparently derived from the verb *gallil* 'to be wicked,' see last article. These

spirits are frequently mentioned, and the epithet   'wicked' is given to them. They had sometimes the form of bulls, and were very injurious to men.            

𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 . 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 . 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪

Diká karasi-ka, strike thy camp !

𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 . 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 . 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪

ana Babel khis-amma, make haste to Babylon !

𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 . 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪

idá-ni ziz, stand by our side !

In my version of *bukkhir* and *dika* I follow Norris Dict. 474.

¶ The use of 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 in Hebrew is quite similar. Ps. xxii, 19. 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 haste thee (to help me !). Furst says : “ 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 to haste to, with 𐎠 of the person ”—which would be *ana* in Assyrian. Thus : *Khisa ana Babel*, ‘haste to Babylon,’ would be in Hebrew 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪.

¶ *Ziz* frequently means ‘to stand.’ Thus in Assur. p. 124 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 . 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 . 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 *makhhar-sha taziz* thou didst stand before her.

448. *Etik*, to change ; forsake ; remove from. Heb. עתק *dimovit*, *transtulit*. In Assur. p. 41, we read that Necho and the other kings of Egypt *adie Assur etiku* 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 . 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 . 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 ‘forsook the faith of Assur.’ Hence I see that the passage quoted in No. 324 ought to have been translated “the queen of the Arabians,” *sha mamit Shamas titiku* “who has now forsaken the worship of the Sun.”

449. *Zahin*, to Adorn. Assur. p. 156. *Ikbud limut*, he devised evil, *ana ekim makhazi*, to capture the holy cities, *subat Ili*, the dwellings of the gods, *sha isriti-sun uddisu*, whose temples I had restored, *uzahinu khuraza ukaspa*, and had adorned them with gold and silver, *kireb-sun astakkanu simati*, and had placed treasures within them. (See also No. 224.)

450. *Naplits*. 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 to Bless, to regard with favour. *Bit-ka naplits ! alu-ka naplits !* bless thy temple, bless thy city ! *Babilu u bit Saggathu naplits !* bless Babylon and the temple of Saggathu !

Ana bit Tara khadish naplits ! bless joyfully the temple of Tara ! Senk. ii, 17. The verb is written 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎪

in this passage, and also in Birs. N. ii, 18 and R 52, 25 without variation of spelling. In Oppert's "Inscription of Khorsabad," l. 12, *Ili rabi* (the great gods) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *ippalsuni* (blessed me). In same, l. 188, *Hekali satina Assur abu ili in nummur buni-su illiti kinish lippalis!* 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *lippalis*, may he bless (those palaces!) On a tablet concerning a man afflicted with an evil spirit "*Marduk ippalitzu*, Marduk will look on him with pity": written 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 Again, in Assur. p. 290 *Anaku khadish appalis-su*, 'I inclined myself to him with favour'—written 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 The change of 𐎶𐎵 for 𐎶𐎵 (see last example) is rather capricious.

¶ This verb *naplits* is a quadriliteral, unless we suppose it a *niphāl* form from *pālis*.

451. **Arar**, to Curse. Agrees exactly with the Hebrew ארר *maledixit*: *exsecratus est*.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 or 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Liruru*, may they curse! Michaux stone col. iv, 24 "May the gods whose names are written on this stone, curse him with a curse which cannot be removed! *arrat la napsuri liruru-su!*" And so in Tiglath Pileser's inscription *Arrati marusta liruru-su!* may they curse him with perilous curses! R. 16, 76.

452. **Gur**. 𐎶𐎵 to Scold, or Reprehend. Exactly the Heb. יגער *increpuit*, *objurgavit aliquem*, ut *pater filium*, יגער בו אביו 'et increpuit eum pater ejus' Gen. xxxvii, 10 (*Gesenius*).

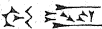

In 2 R 10, 15 is one of the old laws of Assyria.

Apilu (if a master) *arda igur-ma* (shall scold his servant, and); *imtut ikhtalik* (shall threaten him with death) &c. &c. [he shall pay a heavy fine.]

453. **Kubie**. 𐎶𐎵 Curses. *Izarrakh-su* (he will be enraged with him) *kubie igabbu-su* (and will speak curses unto him). This is the Hebrew קבב. *Gesenius* says: קבב *maledixit*: *exsecratus est* (Numbers xxiii, 13) קבבני "Curse me them from thence!" (story of Balaam).











Another example: *Kubie agabbi* (I spoke curses, or sharp words) *manman val isiman-anni* (but no one heard). In these two

examples *kubie* is used in conjunction with the verb *gabba* 'to speak,' and seems derived from it. I believe that *kubie* meant originally 'words.' Gesenius states, what is very important, that the verb קבב is the same as נקב which sometimes means 'to curse,' but sometimes simply 'to speak or name.' Hence we perceive the true connexion of the Assyrian verb *gabba* 'to speak' so constantly used, with the Hebrew, namely that it is the verb נקב reduced to קב by the rejection of the initial N.





454. Guk.  or the monogram  to Swell : perhaps to Burst. This seems to be the Heb. גרר or גיר eruptit : prorupit : effusus est.

Tarku king of Ethiopia had captured Memphis which belonged to Assurbanipal. *Allaku kxanthu* (a rapid messenger) *as kireb Ninua illik-amma* (came to Nineveh) *usanná yaati* (and told me the news). *Eli ipsiti annati* (on account of these doings) *libbi igug* (my heart swelled) *izzarukh kabatti* (and my liver was enraged). Assur. p. 17.

455. Zarikh, to be enraged—to burst with rage. Heb. סרר supercrevit (to swell greatly): effusus est (to burst).

  *izzarrakh*, he will be enraged (phrase on a tablet).   *izzarukh kabatti*, my liver swelled with rage. Assur. p. 17, but in this passage Oppert (Egyptian Campaigns p. 64) reads   *izzarikh*. Compare also the phrase   *tsirikha igabbi* 'he will speak angry words;' and that in Assur. p. 212 *Supar amati annati as tsirikhti libbi-ya*, "concerning these matters in the indignation of my heart [I took up arms, &c.]" written   *tsirikhti*.

456. Kallam, to Speak. כללם A purely Aramie word, used of divine speech, ex. gr. *kalam Allah*, 'the word of God,' which came to Jonah. (Jonah i, 1, Wright's edition).

  *Ukallimu* 'they spoke'   *Tukallima* 'thou spokest.' In Assur. p. 235 the gods, who had uttered a prophecy in ancient times,

"now spoke it again to later people" *eninna ukallimtu nisi arkati*. And in Assur. p. 250 a passage perfectly similar, except that it is in the second person, *tukallima* "thou spokest it again to later people."

457. **Anakhut.** 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 an Injury. Chald. ܐܢܚܘܬ *anakhut* afflictus est. In 3 R plate 4 No. 4 Suzub king of Babylon 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *irsa anakhut*, sustained an injury [by falling from his horse]. In Assur. p. 239, a grandson of Marduk-Baladan heard very bad news, and *iktum libba-su* (his heart was smitten) 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *irsa anakuttu* (he sustained great affliction): *napista-su panûs-su val igir* (his life had no value in his sight): *ikhsukha mitutu* (he wished for death). He said to his swordbearer, 'slay me with the sword!' Then he and his swordbearer slew each other.

The two spellings of *anakhut* differ, but the verb 𐎶 𐎶 *irsa* being the same identifies the word.

Besides this use of the word *anakhut*, it occurs continually in the following phrase, "In future times, when these buildings shall grow old and decay, blessed be the king my successor who shall repair their injuries!" (𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *ankhut-zun luttish*). Or, when only one palace is spoken of, 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *ankhut-sa luttish*.

458. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 **Enakh,** (*verb*) to be Injured: to Decay Chald. ܐܢܚܘܬ. This and the last No. apparently belong to the same root: they generally occur together.

Enuma sigurratu shatina usalbaru enakhu, when these towers shall grow old and decay.—Tig. viii, 52. *Enuma hekal sâtu ilabbiru inakhu*, Esar. vi, 61 written 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶. The same phrase in Bellino 63, but written *innakhu* 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶.

459. **Arba.** 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 to Catch in a Snare. Heb. ארבע *insidiatus* est. In 3 R 4 No. 4, Sennacherib goes in chase of four large eagles, among the mountains. He says: "Two of them *maskanati arba* I caught with (*nets*?).

460. **Bellel,** to Melt Heb. בלל *fudit*. *Sha eri u anaki mubullil-sun atta*, Thou, O Fire, art the melter of brass and lead. (*tablet*).

461. **Shallal**, ☆ 𐎶 to Spoil: *subst.* 𐎶 𐎶 Spoil. Agrees exactly with the Heb. 𐤑𐤔𐤁𐤏 spoliavit.

𐎶 ☆ 𐎶 Asallal (I will carry off) the people of Shushan, &c. Assur. 179. *Isallal* occurs 3 R 56, 17 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *mat isallal*, he will plunder the land. 𐎶 𐎶 *Salal*, the spoil, or carrying off, of his god Masdia. Opp. Khors. ix, 3. These forms are comparatively rare: but 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *ashlula* 'I spoiled' occurs very frequently.—*Sha sarri Elam makhruṭi islulu*, [all the valuables] "which the former kings of Elam had carried off." Written 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *islulu*. Assur. p. 226.

462. **Makhar**, to Pray. *Amkhar* 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 or *Amkhar* 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 'I prayed'—ex. gr. *Assur u Ishtar amkhar* I prayed to Assur and Ishtar. (Assur. p. 191). *Amkhar sakuti Ishtar*, I prayed to the lofty Ishtar (Assur. 120). *As sat musi suatu sha amkhuru-si* 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 in the nighttime of that night in which I had prayed to her (Assur. p. 123)—*Ki sha ana Assur amkhuru*, as I had prayed to Assur [so it fell out]. Assur. p. 67.

T conjugation 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Imdakharunima* they besought me. Assur. p. 81.

463. **Labat**, to Overthrow. Agrees with the Heb. 𐤌𐤁𐤕 ꝓræcipitavit: ꝓræceps ruit.

S conjugation *Salbit*, ex. gr. *Isriti Elam adi la basi usalbit*, I overthrew the temples of Elam until none were left.

464. **Lebesh**, to Clothe. The same in Hebrew, 𐤌𐤁𐤑 vestivit. Assur. p. 27. *Lubultu birmi ulabbis-su*, 'I clothed him with scarlet raiment.' Written 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶. S conjugation *Salbis*. Phill. i, 37. *Papakha Nabu sha kireb bit-saggathu, sibbu-su, sigaru-su, u babnaku-su khurassi usalbis*. "The chapel of Nebo which is within the temple of Saggathu, its gates, its doors and its with gold I covered." Written 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *usalbis*. This verb is a common one.

465. **Kala**, to Speak, a rather doubtful word, suggested by the two following examples, and the analogy of the Hebrew 𐤏𐤋 *For*

𐤀𐤃𐤁 . 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤀𐤃𐤁 𐤏𐤏 . 𐤀𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤏𐤁 *la ikla unnini*
 'he did not utter prayers.' *Liki unnini-ya. Simi kala-ya.* "Receive
 my prayers! Hear my voice!" This latter example I have con-
 sidered in No. 379. The occurrence of *unnini* in each suggests
 that 𐤀𐤏𐤏 𐤀𐤃𐤁 *Kala* (voice) and 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤀𐤃𐤁 *ikla* (he spoke), have
 a common origin.

466. **Sunukh**, to Repeat. Heb. שנה *iteravit. Ikribi-ya*
sunukhuti, "my repeated prayers." Written 𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤏𐤁.

467. **Zibu**. 𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤀𐤃𐤁 𐤀𐤃𐤁 𐤀𐤃𐤁 a kind of Antelope. Heb. צבי
Dorcas. A tablet mentions 𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤀𐤃𐤁 𐤀𐤃𐤁 𐤀𐤃𐤁 . 𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤏𐤁
Zibu surrukhu 'swift antelopes.' The word stands between *ga*
makhe 'fine oxen' and *tsieni* 𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤏𐤁 (...) sheep.
 The epithet given to the sheep I do not know. Offerings to the
 gods are here spoken of. Similar offerings are mentioned in
 Opp. Khors. l. 172, where the epithet *surrukhi* is given to another
 animal (called 𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤏𐤁) and the *Zibi* or antelopes
 (𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤀𐤃𐤁 𐤀𐤃𐤁 𐤀𐤃𐤁) have the epithet *illuti* 'excellent,' while
 another animal has the epithet *ibbuti* 'pretty.' In both these texts,
 it will be observed, 𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤏𐤁 occurs, I must leave it doubtful
 whether it is an animal or the epithet of one.

Mr. Norris's translation of Opp. Khors. l. 172, will be found in
 his dictionary p. 308. He thinks the *Zibi* were birds, because a
 bird of that name is mentioned in 2 R 37, 4.

𐤏𐤏𐤁 The Syriac form of צבי is *tabia* ܬܒܝܐ. The Assyrian inscrip-
 tions very seldom name any females. One exception is the princess
Tabua 𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤀𐤃𐤁 𐤏𐤏𐤁 whom Esarhaddon (iii, 13) appointed to
 be queen over a Syrian or Arabian nation. I think her name
 meant ܬܒܝܐ *Dorcas*, as that was a favourite female name. See
 Acts ix, 36, "*Tabitha* which by interpretation is called *Dorcas*."
 Gesenius says: Hebræi pariter atque Arabes tanti faciebant dorcadis
 pulchritudinem ut ei compararent quidquid pulchrum est et venus-
 tum.

468. **Nimru**, a Leopard. Heb. נמר *Pardus.* 𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤏𐤁
Nimri, leopards, together with many other wild animals, in my
 city Calah I collected. — B.M. 44, 19.

¶ The spots on this animal may be compared to Eyes. This affords a very simple etym of the Hebrew נמר, viz. from the Assyrian *Namri* in the sense of Eyes or Vision.

469. *Urbarra*. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 a Tiger (?). It is frequently said in the omen tablets, "If the weather and seasons are so-and-so, *nanthur Urmakh Urbarra*, Lions and Tigers (?) will be seen. 3 R 61, col. ii, 10. The translation is conjectural.

470. *Mû*. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 Water. Chald. מרי which singular is not found in Hebrew, but only the plural מרי or מרימ. Josephus gives *Mω*, from which he derives the name of Moses. The plural *Mie* 'waters' is very common in Assyrian, but the singular is comparatively rare, and therefore I will give an example or two of it. Speaking of the Euphrates: "*Mu-sha as abzie kinish kunnû* its water in the Ocean." Sometimes it is written simply 𐎶𐎵 ex. gr. *elish isaggu mu*, from above they drank water (Ch. שָׁקָא *bibit*). Here the Accadian translation of 𐎶𐎵 by 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 'water' identifies its meaning.




471. *Aminna*. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (Accad.) a kind of Crown. Evidently derived from *Amia* 'a crown' (see No. 404). In 2 R 30, 19 *Aminna* is explained by *Agû elû* 'lofty crown.'








472. *Izkati*. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 Fetters. Exactly the Hebrew חֲזָקָה *catenæ, vincula*, Jerem. xl, 1. *As biriti anbar, izkati anbar, utammikhu kati u shapie*, with bonds of iron and fetters of iron they held their hands and feet. Assur. p. 26 (same words in p. 44). *As zizzi izkati anbar, biriti anbar utammikh*, [two chiefs] in strong fetters of iron and bonds of iron he bound. Assur. p. 66; and same words in Assur. p. 113.





473. *Sigaru*. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 Chains. Probably from the Hebrew root סָגַר to lock or close (Levit. xiii, 4, to imprison a person).




In Assur. p. 261, *Sigaru askun-su*, 'I placed chains on him' [and threw him into the great central prison of Nineveh.]








474. *Zulul*. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 Shade. Heb. חָלַל *obumbrare*. *Ikhtallubu kishti sha zulul-sin rapsu*, they passed through forests









whose shade was vast. Assur. p. 267. Norris p. 348, gives the form    *Zulul*. In that passage I think it means the shade of an umbrella of state.

Zulul is very frequently used for 'the roof of a building,' which *shades* it. E.I.H. ix. 8. "Tall Cedars, the growth of lofty mountains, I laid for its roof, *ana zululi-sha usatriz.*" Written     *Zululi*. And in E.I.H. col. iii. in the account of the splendours of the chapel of Nebo,    *Zululu* occurs several times. *Ex. gr.* "The Cedar roof of the *Kua* (shrine or oracle) I covered with shining silver, *usalbis kaspi namri*. Another roof I covered with gold and precious stones," &c. &c.

475. *Zubati*.     Victims. Heb. *Zubah* זָבַח hostia: victima. I find the following passage in an address to the deity, asking for pardon of sins, and varying the phrase in different ways. *Killatû-ya mahadati kima zubati sukhut!* "Slay my many sins, as if they were victims!" This prayer realizes to us one of the primitive ideas and objects of sacrifice. In slaying the victim (the Sin-Offering) the sin was also slain or destroyed. So in Leviticus, chap. 1, when any man of the children of Israel brought a sheep goat or bullock to the door of the tabernacle, he first put his hand upon its head, to transfer his own guilt upon the victim, and after that it was sacrificed.

I must remark that    *sukhut* was a verb proper to sacrifices, the Hebrew שָׁחַט *mactavit pecudem*; *ex. gr.* Levit. i, 5, וַיִּשְׁחַט הַבָּקָר 'and he shall kill the bullock.'

 The Accadian translation of *kima zubati* is *ku kim*. Hence the name of a victim in Accadian was  *Ku*. And the term for 'a sacrificing priest' was   *Bil Ku* 'master of sacrifice,' see Assur. 184 and again p. 186 with    prefixed, denoting 'an office.'

476. *Zibi*.     Vultures. In Assur. p. 166 some criminals are put to death, and the king says: "I gave their flesh to be eaten by dogs, wolves(?) vulture-birds (*zibi-khu*): eagle-birds (*it-khu*,    ): the birds of heaven and the fishes of the deep. In 2 R 37, 4 in a long list of birds, we find the *Zibu*

(Assur. p. 226) he carried off all the 'pure gold' *zarirú russú*, and 'bright silver' *ismarú ibbú*, of the Elamite kings. Here *ismarú* (or *simarú*) is written <<< 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 <.

¶ If this is correct, a further consequence is, that *Zar* and *Sim* are very ancient Persian words.

479. *Ismarú*. <<< 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 < Silver. See preceding article for one example. Another is found in E.I.H. iii, 56 in the account of the very splendid decorations of the chapel of Nebo. Not only were the cedar roofs plated with silver, but the very approaches were equally splendid. *Tallakti papakha* (the path to the chapel) *u malaku bit* (and the way to the temple) *aguri ismarú* 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 . <<< 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 "with slabs of silver" 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *gubú* "were paved." 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 reads '*aguri*,' the *i* being borrowed from the next word (in quick pronunciation). *Agurri* are slabs or flat plates of any kind, *ex. gr.* of alabaster—*agurri zamat illiti*. E.I.H. col. iii.

The last two words of the above translation "were paved" require a particular examination. In the East India House slab lithographed in the British Museum series plate 54 they stand thus (line 57) 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *gubú*. But here Porter's transcript, which is of equal authority with the India House slab, differs from it very notably, reading 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 . <<< 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 . 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 . *Agurri ismari gubuthu*. This verb *gubuthu* I propose to render "they were paved." Indeed, I think that we have here the Hebrew word *Gabbatha* 'a pavement,' which is found in the New Testament (John xix, 13) "*He sat down in a place that is called the Pavement, (Λιβοστρωτον) but in the Hebrew Gabbatha.*" This is the more interesting since Hebrew and Syriac scholars seem unable to confirm by other examples this interpretation of *gabbatha*. But here we have it, if I am not mistaken, preserved in the Assyrian language.

480. *Busha*. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 Treasures. R 63, 20, of a Palace. "Former kings *busha-sun in kirbi unakkimu*, stored up their treasures within it." A very common word.
481. *Garsu*. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 Wealth. Treasure. Opp. Khors. 10, l. 87

[I carried off his gold and silver] *garsu hekali-su sha niba la isû*, 'the treasures of his palace which had no number' [were innumerable]. This word is very common. It may be the Persian *Gaza*, Ch. and Syr. *Ganza*.

482. **Risiti.** 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 the First, or Best. From *Ris* or *Rish* 'the first.' Heb. ראש.

Bellino l. 20 and Sen. B. l. 9 (see 3 R 12) "I sacrificed one bull, ten sheep, ten 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Kuruni* (some horned animal(?), probably deer): twenty 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (animals) *kalima risiti-su* "the best of every kind." I think these twenty comprise the preceding ten sheep and ten deer, and it is merely added that they were victims of especial beauty. *Kalima* 'of every kind' is a very common word.

483. **Khallul.** 𐎶𐎶𐎵 to Clothe.

Zabi sumti sha naru suatu ikhrû, "those soldiers who had dug that canal" [with yellow cloth and scarlet dresses] *ukhallul sumti* "I clothed them." Written 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 Bavian 33. In R 19, 93 the king executes a Rebel Chief. *Akutz tzu-su* (or *masak-su*), *Dur sha ali Ninua ukhallul*. "I flayed off his skin, and with it clothed the wall of the palace of Nineveh." This is repeated two or three times in the same page, with some variations. Dr. Hincks first explained the meaning. In this second example *ukhallul* is written exactly as in the Bavian inscription.

"The Cedar roof of the chapel of Nebo with gold I covered," *ukhallulu* 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵. Porter's transcript of E.I.H. iii, 45. The India House slab has *usalbish* "I clothed," the S conjugation of 𐎶𐎶𐎵 'to clothe.'

484. **Zalukh,** to Pour. Chald. 𐎶𐎶𐎵 *auxit*; whence 𐎶𐎶𐎵 *Imbres*.

In Opp. Khors. l. 131 the king destroys the enemy: *Azlish unakkis* "I cut them off like *azli*;" *imat mûti azlukha*, "and I poured upon them the storm of death." Written 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 *azlukha*. Sargon l. 29 is very similar. *Gimir bakhulati-sun azlish udabikhu* "all their people he slaughtered like *azli*;" *as mati nakhiri izlukhu imat mûti* "and upon the hostile lands he poured a storm of death." Here Oppert reads *naplish* instead of *azlish*, and the correction *as mati* is due to him. *Izlukhu* is written 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵.

The meaning is fixed by the somewhat similar passage of Neriḡl. i, 27 quoted by Norris, p. 482, which substitutes for *izluku* the verb 𐤠𐤏 𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 *izannu* 'they pour down' which almost always denotes Rain and Storms.

485. **Dabakh**, to Slaughter. Chald. ܕܒܚܐ, but in Hebrew זבח 'mactavit pecudem.'

𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 *udabikhu* 'he slaughtered;' see the preceding article. The letter 𐤠𐤏𐤍 is omitted in some copies.

486. **Shur**, to set Free, to Liberate. Chald. ܫܪܐ *solvit* (*ex. gr.* de vinculis. *Ges.*). Dan. iii, 25 "Lo! I see four men loose" (𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 *soluti*). In R 39, 7. *Sittuti-sun* (the rest of them) who had committed no crime, *usshur-sun akbi* (I commanded them to be set at liberty). Written 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤏𐤍 *usshur*. This seems to be a Hiphil form of the verb.




487. **Tillukh**. 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 to Meditate. Schindler's Lexicon gives us the verb ܬܠܗ meaning in Chald. and Syr. 'to doubt' and in Arabic 'to think' or 'meditate.'

Old proverb: *As tami ussus, as musi tillukh*; "Work by day: think by night." Schindler's example of ܬܠܗ "meditatus sum nocte" is very apposite. Psalm 77. The word *ussus* is doubtful; the Accadian renders it by the verb *gu* (reduplicated). But in another passage 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤏𐤍 *ussa* is rendered 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 or by the verb *du* 'to go' (reduplicated). 'Activity' seems to be meant.






488. **Naziq**, to Hurt or Injure. Chald. ܢܙܩ (*Aphel* in Ezra ܢܙܩ *inaziq*) *Læsit, nocuit, damno affecit, (Schindler)*. 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍. 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 *Asakku sha mat inazzakhu* (or *inaziqu*) "Dæmons who hurt mankind." For which reason the later Chaldeans called them *Maziqi* (or *Hurters*) see Schindler p. 1101. ܡܙܝܩ *Maziq*. Dæmon nocens hominibus: and more about them in Buxtorf p. 1325.













𐤠𐤏𐤍 *Mat*, sometimes 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 *Matu* is very often used for *people—men—mankind, &c.* It is rendered in Accadian by 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤏𐤍, sometimes by 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍.



Other examples: 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍





















Libba-su nazkhu 'his heart is hurt.' In 2 R 38, 34 the king gives to the gods a great number of precious stones. He names nine or ten kinds, and then says: *u abni il, sha mu-su nazqu*, written   . This, I think, may mean "and other stones whose names are injured"—viz., in the record which the scribe was copying. I prefer this to the translation given in No. 60.



 The Accadian has   *Ziga* "to hurt."


489. *Asakku*.    a Dæmon or Goblin. Probably from *nazik* 'to hurt,' because they harmed men (see last article). They were called in Accadian   *Itpa*.


















490. *Udukku*.    or sometimes merely   an Evil Spirit: in Accadian  . The old Babylonians were firm believers in demoniacal possession, and practised exorcism or the casting out of unclean spirits. A tablet published some years ago by the British Museum (2 R 18) has not yet attracted the attention it deserves. It says, of a sick man, "May the goddess wife of the god *pani-su ana ashri shanuma likun*, turn his face in another direction, *udukku sinu litzi-ma*, as *akhati lizbat*, that the evil spirit may come out of him, and be thrust aside: *sidi tuki*, *lamassi tuki*, as *zumri-su lu-kayan*, that good spirits and good powers may dwell in his body. 2 R 18, 41. Written      *lu-kayan*.






491. *Kimi*.   some small animals good for food.

It is said of certain malignant dæmons, that they devour men as if they were *Kimi*.        .     *Mātu kima kimi igammū*. The verb is the Chald. *gama* 'to swallow' גמא. *Mātu* is rendered in Accadian by  ; *kima kimi* by   *ku kim*; and *igammu* by  written twice, with  added. This probably means 'eating,' being composed of  placed within the sign  *Ka*, or mouth.









But what are *Kimi*? I find them in a list (apparently) of small birds in 2 R 5, 38 with the Accadian version   *Kuda*










which is probably a mere variant of  *Ku*. I think therefore that we may translate "they devour men as if they were sparrows."



























492. *Im*,  a Storm. Bavian 44   .  .
   .           *Kima Im bari askhup-su*,
 'like a wild wind I swept over it' viz. the land of Babylonia. And,
 on a tablet, *Sha kima Im bari kabta, alakta-su manma val idi*,
 which like a great tempest, no one knows its course.

493. *Imat*,   or    a Storm. Appears to be the same as the preceding, grammatically written.































Among the figures set up to guard Neriglissar's palace were *eight* *uzbir eri sezuzuti sha limnu u aibi izannu imat mûti*, eight beasts of bronze very fierce looking, which upon criminals and enemies poured down a storm of death. Nerig. i, 27. See two other examples of the word *Imat* in the article *Zalukh* 'to pour,' No. 484.

494. *Nubattu*,    a Festival. 2 R 32, 13.
     the day of the festival of the god *Im*. And Norris p. 971 quotes from Assur. *Nubattu sha sar ili Marduk*, "the festival of the king of the gods Marduk." The word occurs thrice in Mr. Smith's calendar p. 326-327.

495. *Alu*,    a City.    *Ali* 'of a city.'
   *Ali* 'my city.' *Alûssu* 'his city.'

Ninib mukin timin ali-su, ana labar tami rukuti salhû-su!
 May Ninib, who laid the foundation of his City, preserve it also into far distant times! Botta 23, 16. Norris p. 31. For *Ali-su*
     other texts read   , and Syll. 393 has
     *Alussu utzi*, he fled from his city
              *Opp. Khors. l. 41, and l. 114.*

496. *Ziggurrat*,      a Tower.

Assur. 227. *Ziggurrat Susan sha as akhiri zamat subulat, ubbit*, the tower of Shushan which was built of slabs of zamat stone I destroyed. And in Tig. viii, 53 *enuma sigurratu shatina usalbaru*, 'when these towers shall grow old.' Written
               *The spelling*                *Zikurat* also occurs, but only in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar,

see Norris p. 343. In 2 R 50 lines 1—23 is a long list of the principal *Ziggurratu* of Babylonia, commencing with those of Suanna (a name of Babylon) and Borsippa.

497. **Shalkhú.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 = 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 a Fortress. Perhaps from the verb *shalkhu* to preserve; keep safe; in the same way as the chief tower of a Norman castle was called the Keep. This word occurs frequently. In 2 R 50, 25 we read that *Imgur Bel* was the *Dur* of *Suanna-ki* (Babylon); and *Nibit-Bel* was its *Shalkhú*. The exact distinction between the two has not been ascertained: both were fortresses.

498. **Rish.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 <<< the Head. gen. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 *Risi*. (Of a sick man) *Musi u urra as risi-su lu-kayan*, 'day and night may it stand at his head!' (some charm). Written 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵. This is varied in 2 R 18, 49 to *as risi-su libat*. Elsewhere to the same effect, *as rish amilu* 'at the man's head' 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 <<< 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. The symbol 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 is written for *Rish*, and the Accadian often has 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 'for the head' *ex. gr.* 2 R 18, 49. But the most usual form is 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.







499. **Tsir.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 the Back. plur. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Tsiri*. Obelisk, 1st Epigraph, 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. <𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Aabba sha sunai tsiri-sin*, Camels with two backs, *i.e.* two humps on the back. 3 R 4, 49 *Irsa anakhut*, he met with an accident: *valtu tsir kurri kakkarish imkut*, from his horse's back he fell to the earth.

500. **Kabat.** The Liver (hence metaphorically Anger, Indignation). Also frequently the Heart.


Both the heart and the liver were supposed by the ancients to be the seat of the wrathful passions. *Fervens difficili bile tumet jecur.* (*Hor.*) *quantâ jecur ardeat irâ.* (*Juv.*) *rabie jecur incendente feruntur* (*Juv.*).

Heb. כבד *kabad* jecur (same in Arabic). כבד also means 'animus' Thren. ii. 11. *Ad terram effusum est jecur meum* (כבד). Hyperbolice dictum de gravissimo vulnere jecoris, *i.e.* *animi.* *Gesen.*—Figuratively for 'my heart is wounded.' *Furst.*

This word occurs very frequently in the Assyrian writings, but strange to say, it has been overlooked by all, except Oppert (Egyptian Campaigns p. 64). *Kabatti* (my heart—my liver—my indignation) has, wherever it occurs, been mistaken for *Kabitti* (great or numerous), of course to the great injury of the sense, which can be cleared up materially in perhaps fifty instances by restoring the true translation.

Yet the Assyrians have been very careful to distinguish the two words, for they always write   *Kabatti* (the heart) with the sign  *bat*, but   *Kabitti* (numerous) with the sign  *bit*.

I will give a good many examples of the word, in order to justify the foregoing remarks.

I.  is the Heart or Liver, *i.e.* wrath : indignation. Assur. p. 17. *Eli ipsiti annati libbi igug-ma, izzarukh kabatti*, 'about these doings my heart swelled, my liver was enraged.' This is a favorite phrase in the Assyrian writings, recurring in Assur. pages 30 and 38 ; and twice in the broken cylinder of Esarhaddon (3 R 15 col. i, 2 and col. ii, 13).

II. *Nukh kabatti* is a frequent phrase. *Placere cordi alicujus*. *Placare iram alicujus*. Heb. נָחָה quiescere, to be calm, also quiescere fecit, tranquillavit (*Gesen.*) to calm the feelings of another. נָחָה answers both to *placare* and *placere*. Examples. In Assur. 121 the king prays to Ishtar: "O goddess who in the presence of thy father always speakest good of me, so as to gladden the mind of Assur, and please the heart of Marduk" Here observe the parallelism
















Suthup libbi Assur

Nukkhi kabatti Marduk






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In Assur. 223 the king ravages the land of Elam. "I destroyed their cities: I made an end of the people who dwelt in them: I broke their gods to pieces (*usabbir ili-sun*) and by so doing I calmed the anger of the Lord of Lords (Assur). Written



=III= IIII I- A→III . =II I - Y< . II
 -II -II usapsikh kabatti bil bili. Usapsikh ‘cessare feci’ from
 פסס cessavit : quievit : (Schindler). Usapsikh kabatti ‘cessare
 feci iram.’

The two next examples should be compared together, because they illustrate one another. In Assur. 105 Urtaki king of Elam and his chief counsellor come to an evil end. "*Libbi Assur aggu* (the heart of Assur vengeful) *val inukh sunuti* (did not let them rest) *val ipsukh sunuti* (gave them no repose). *Kabatti Ishtar* (the wrath of Ishtar) the years of his reign ended. The throne of Elam passed to another." Here    *ipsukh* is from the same verb   just mentioned. In Assur. p. 108 there is another account of the same event. "*Libbi* (the hearts) *ili rabi bili-ya* (of the great gods my lords) *val inukh, val ipsukh* (did not let him rest)     .    .    , the fiery anger of their divinities [destroyed his reign and ended his years. The throne of Elam passed to another"]

The adjective שׁוּרִי שׁוּרִי שׁוּרִי *Sezuru* 'fiery' (usually written שׁוּרִי שׁוּרִי שׁוּרִי) from the verb שׂרַף *combussit* in the S conjugation, is elsewhere an epithet of lightning, thunderbolts, &c.


The next example is very different. It seems to be some advice to the students. I take it from the photograph of tablet 143 (or 112 a). *Aggu libba-kun, linukha!* may it calm the anger of your minds! *lippashra kabatta-kun*, may it reconcile your hearts! Written . .  *Lippashra* is the optative mood of the Rabbinic verb פָּשַׁר to pacify or reconcile, see Sch. 1498. Observe how constantly the words *Lib* (the mind) and *Kabat* (the heart) accompany each other. So also in the Vocabulary (2 R 36, 53)  *Libbu*, and  *Kabattu* stand next but one to each other.


III. *Kabat* often means the Heart, viewed as the seat of Intelligence. Bellino l. 42 "Then I Sennacherib king of Assyria, by command of the Gods, to complete this great work in *uzni-ya*






ibsi-ma, kabatti uplam-ma, resolved in my mind, and brought my heart to it."—More fully given in the Bull inscriptions 3 R 13, 22. B.M. 41, 25. B.M. 60, 27 where among other things, he says  *"in mirish kabatti-ya* (in the skilfulness of my heart) I made figures of bronze, and finished them artistically."—*Mirish* comes I think from the root  solers, astutus (Schindler p. 660).

IV. Prayers for the king are very frequent. Thus in 2 R 36, 24 *As khiga siri, khut libbi, namar kabatti, salmish*, &c. "with sound limbs, cheerful mind, and bright heart, may he walk in perfection before thee!" Observe, the three adjectives stand before their substantives.

In Esar vi, 55 the sacred stone bulls and lions are called "the guardians of my royal treasures, and the gladdeners of my heart, *mukhadû kabatti-ya*. The same text is found in 3 R 16 col. vi, 12.


V. The form  *Kubat* occurs in Assur. p. 153, where the king says the gods have adorned *kubat-su* 'his heart' *in kitti u misari* 'with good faith and justice.' Therefore he received without suspicion the ambassadors of his faithless brother and loaded them with honours.

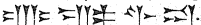
VI. The form *Gabat* occurs in Assur. p. 118, in the account of the illness of Tiiumman inflicted on him by the anger of the gods. "His lips were swollen, his eyes grew dim, and  *issakin as libbi-sha* (was inflamed in its interior).

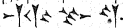
¶ On the other hand the adjective  *kabittu* (much : many : numerous) always requires to be preceded by a substantive. It is generally written with the syllable  *Bit*, sometimes though rarely with  *Bi-it*, but never with  *Bat*. Example: *Shallatu kabittu* ( *ana kireb Assur-ki ushula* "much plunder to Assyria I carried away," Botta 147, 12.

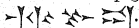
¶ I turn now to the verb *Kabat* or *Kabad*, to have in the heart : to plot or meditate : of which I will give several examples :—

1. Opp. Khors. l. 112 "The king of Commagene, a Syrian heretic, not worshipping the gods, *kapidu sinieti* (plotting rebellion)

dabību zalūti (meditating treason). Written  *Kapidu*.





2. Assur. 164 "The people who had plotted (*usakpidu*) along with my rebellious brother." Written .


3. Assur. 156 *Ikbūt limūt*, he devised evil. .

4. Same page, *Ikbudu limuttu*, they devised evil .


But when the verb *kabat* is joined to *libba* as in the phrase *ikbud libba-su*, it is doubtful whether we ought to translate "he devised in his heart" or "he hardened his heart" i.e., "obstinately resolved" (not to pay tribute, or the like). This would be the Hebrew *יִכְבַּד לֵב פַּרְעֹה* *gravis, obduratorus*, as in Exodus ix, 7 *יִכְבַּד לֵב פַּרְעֹה* 'the heart of Pharaoh was hardened.' It is to be observed however that Hebraists refer *יִכְבַּד* *jezur* and *יִכְבַּד* *gravis* to the same root. The Assyrian usage confirms this, for it seems to intermix the meanings.

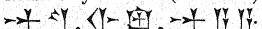
501. Issu.  New.

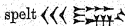

We read in F 25 of R plate 7 *Sha bit-zu labiru inakkaru, issu ibannū*, "those who had pulled down their old houses and built new ones." In 2 R 46, 11 there is mention of a ship which is  or *old*, and of one which is  or *new*. The Assyrian translation of these terms is  *labirtu* 'old' and  *issitu* 'new.'

502. Issut.  Newness. A word of very frequent occurrence.

Bellino l. 20. *Nagu suatu ana issuti asbat*, 'that city I built again.'

503. Issish.  Newly. Occurs very frequently.

Phill. ii, 41. The temple of Tara to the Sun and Moon my lords newly I built (*issish ebū*). The Sun and Moon are .

This adverb is also spelt  ex. gr. *Assipar(?) ramani-su issish ibannu* "he built it newly, according to his own plan(?)" where *issish* is rendered in Accadian by .

I do not think it has been observed by students, that adverbs are formed in the Accadian language by adding 𒀭 . Of this I have collected numerous examples.

504. **Bilut.** $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ Lordship, Sovereignty. *Sha bilut Sumir u Akkad ramanu's utirru*, who the government of Sumir and Akkad had turned to himself. Sen. T. iv, 36. I give this example on account of the unusual spelling. Norris (dict., p. 147 l. 5) first pointed out that 𒀭 has *lut* for one of its values. See another proof of the same in the next article *Ilut*.

505. **Ilut.** $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ Divinity. The word is very common but I have only once met with it thus written. *Ilut-ka* 'thy divinity.' The Accadian version agrees.

506. **Padi.** $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ Sceptre (see No. 435). As this is an important word I will give another example, taken from one of the tablets. "O Father, creator of gods and men Proclaimer of my Sovereignty! Giver of my sceptre!....."

The original has *Nabû sarruti, natan padi* ($\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ 𒀭 𒀭). The final *i* is the pronoun, for the Accadian version adds *mu* (my) in both instances.

The spelling $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ *Pada* is also found, *ex. gr.* "The gods of heaven and earth exalted his sceptre over the races of men," *shursudi pada-su il kissat nisi*. (Observe the preposition *il*, written 𒀭 .)

507. **Kakku.** A Sword (see No. 416). I will add some more examples of this word. It is written $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ 𒀭 in the Babylonian inscriptions.


1. Neriglissar l. 13 "Nebo gave him the sceptre of justice, and the god (.....) *gaburu ili* (greatest of the gods) *iddinu-su kakku-su* (gave him his sword)."

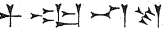
2. E. I. H. iv, 50. I built a temple to the god (.....) who is the breaker of the sword of my enemies *musabbir kakku nakiri-ya*.






But it is written $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ in Assyrian inscriptions.

1. 2 R 19, *Kakku sha bulukhti milammi-su* 'his sword of awful brightness' rendered in Accadian by $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ *immini ani*.





2. Same plate l. 63, the Accadian $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 .


is translated  *Kakku kabtu sha Anu* 'the great sword of Anu.' There is another example in same plate l. 61.


508. **Maskanati.**  Nets. *Bultu II in libbi-su maskanati arba*, 'two of them (*eagles*) I caught alive in Nets.' 3 R 4 No. 4 l. 40. I think this may be the same as the Heb. *maskat* מַסְכַּת a Web, from נָסַךְ *plexuit, texuit*: 'to weave a web, or net.' The word is found in Judges xvi, 13 (story of Samson).

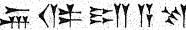
509.  a City. This is the most usual sign for 'City.' It was sometimes pronounced *Ar* (Heb. עִיר *urbs, oppidum*), but more often *Alu*: a word peculiar to the Assyrians (*see* No. 495). In consequence of this, it has a double value when used as a mere phonetic syllable. It generally sounds *Ar*, of which many examples occur, but sometimes, though much more rarely, it sounds *Ala*. Compare Assur. p. 61 with p. 69. The land of Tabal is written in one  *Tapala*, in the other , showing that  was familiarly pronounced  *Ala*.

Alussu (his city). *Ituru alussun*, (the gods) returned to their cities. Opp. Khors.

 Norris p. 554 and p. 577 thinks the plural is *alan*, in which I agree with him, for I find *alani* in the photograph of tablet 133. Speaking of fine marbles, alabaster, &c. .  *Alani isallal sunuti* "he will plunder them from the cities." Here *alani* is rendered  which proves the meaning. For *isallal*, spelt in the same manner, see the art. *shallal*, No. 461. The barbarous custom of pulling down fine buildings in order to build new ones is here alluded to.


 *Alan* (Cities) in E. I. H. vii, 31 *Aramu bana alan-sun* "I raised high the building of their cities."

510. **Salim.** Peace. A remarkable spelling of this word is found on the Omen tablet 3 R 59, 47. "If the Sun and Moon, &c. &c. there will be Peace among nations"  *Salim kissati*.


511. **Sadirati.**  Hunter's Nets. From the Heb. יָצַר to hunt (wild animals): to lay nets for (birds and

fishes) whence ציד venatio: venator. "Great numbers of wild animals he caught in nets, or hunter's toils," *as sadirati utimmikh*. R 28, 20.

512. **Urbarra.** (See No. 469). That this was some great wild beast is evident from R 28, 25 where a very early monarch, Ashurakhbal, pursues it in the chase. If not a tiger I think it is a panther or great leopard. In 2 R 49, 41 the constellations *Urmakh* and *Urbarra* stand next each other.

513. Gubbani.  Lakes, Pools, or Ponds.
Heb. גִּבְבִּי palus, piscina, cisterna.

As eli gubbani sha mie attadi usmanni, "over against pools of water I pitched my camp." (This was preparatory to crossing an arid desert). Assur. p. 269.

514. **Isirtu.**  Straight. Hebrew ישר *rectus*.
Assur. 235 *Kharran isirtu ullus libbi tazbata ana Bit-Anna*, "she took the straight road to the temple of Anna, with a joyful heart."

515. **Makhiri.** מַכִּירִי Commerce. Agrees exactly with the Hebrew מָכַר to buy or sell.

Assur. 275 "They sold a camel for half a shekel of silver in the street of Commerce (or of the Merchants)" — ✱ IIIIII. ✱ 𐎶- . 𐎶𐎵 = IIII = 𐎶𐎵 . — 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 — 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 as kaspi isammu as bab makhiri. And a few lines after, imdanakharu gammali u amilitutu 'they bartered camels and men' [prisoners of war]. Imdanakharu 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 is the Tan conjugation of the verb Makhar to barter.

But the verb *Makhar* to receive, or store up, has also the same tense, of which the following is an example. Bellino l. 39. "Former kings built a treasure-house at Nineveh, and every year without fail their tributes, received from the four regions, they stored up within it," *imdanakharu kiréb-su*.

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ART. I.—*The Ishmaelites, and the Arabic Tribes who conquered their Country.* By A. SPRENGER.

The commentators of Genesis are unanimous in considering the Ishmaelites as the fathers of the northern Arabians. It is my intention to show that this view is not correct. But before entering into the subject, I may be permitted to ventilate the arguments which may be adduced in support of it. The indigenous genealogists, it may be said, divide the Arabs into two races: the Ma'addites and the Qahtânians; and derive the former from Ishmael. In the Talmud the Arabs are called the children of Kedar, the son of Ishmael, and the Arabic language Kedar's tongue, לשון קדר. And, finally, the whole country once in possession of the Ishmaelites is now, and has been for more than a thousand years, occupied by Arabian tribes.

The indigenous traditions of the Arabs respecting the descent of the Ma'addites can distinctly be traced to the Jews, and are without value. If the name of their supposed patriarch had been preserved by the Arabs themselves, they would have continued to pronounce it يسماعيل. Yesma'îl, in accordance with the etymology of the words, "God hears him," and with the laws of their language, just as they always kept up the pronunciation of other proper names of the same form, like Yezkor, Yahçob. Instead of it they drop the initial vowel, spelling the word اسماعيل, as they heard it from the Jews, who, it seems, even previous to the commencement of our era, had converted the initial syllable *yi* into *i*.

It was Mohammed who first made his countrymen familiar with the name of Ishmael, but his notions regarding him were very different during his residence at Mekka from what they became after his flight to Madîna. In Sûra 6, 83-8 (compare 38, 48; 21, 85; 19, 55,) he says: "And this is our argument [to prove the divine unity] wherewith we furnished Abraham, that he might make use of it against his people. . . . And we gave unto him Isaac and Jacob, whom we directed both; and Noah had we before directed, and of his posterity, David and Solomon; and Job, and Joseph, and Moses, and Aaron; . . . and Zacharias, and John, and Jesus, and Elias; . . . and Ishmael, and Elisha, and Jonas, and Lot." In this verse, and in many others, Jacob is represented as a son of Abraham and brother of Isaac, whereas Ishmael stands in no such relation to the patriarch. In Madîna the prophet learned from Jews converted to Islâm that Ishmael was a son, and Jacob a grandson, of Abraham, and he now corrected his error, and wherever he speaks of the descendants of Abraham he first mentions Ishmael; thus in 14, 41, Abraham is introduced saying: "Praise be unto God, who has given me, in my old age, Ishmael and Isaac, for my Lord is the hearer of supplication." The last words seem even to indicate that he had now become acquainted with the import of the name. Mohammed had, in imitation of some more ancient Judæo-Christian sects, been proclaiming Abraham as the founder of pure monotheism, and he therefore now greedily took up the Jewish notions on the descent of the Arabians through Ishmael from Abraham (compare Sûra 22 27), and it thereby became an article of faith for his followers.

The genealogists, who took it as an incontrovertible truth, were at first divided in their opinion; some considering all Arabs as Ishmaelites, and Qaḥṭān as a descendant of Kedar—the Arab *par excellence*—and Ma'add, a son of Nebaiot; others maintained that only the Ma'addites were of Ishmaelitic origin, and at length their opinion prevailed. They considered Kedar as the ancestor of Ma'add; but as a sort of compromise with their opponents, they gave him a

son of the name of Nabt (Nebaiot), through whom Ma'add was descended from him. My friend Syed Ahmed gives in his Essays his own (and thereby Mohammed's) pedigree up to Adam; but not in a complete form. I am able to trace its origin. In the first century of the Hijra, the Ma'additic tribes were classed in reference to their supposed relation to the Qoraysh, the clan to which the prophet belonged; and, as is usual among the Shemites, the classification assumed the form of a pedigree.

As few of my readers are acquainted with the numerical strength, importance, and geographical position of the Ma'additic tribes to which, in classing them, the genealogists (ethnographers) paid due attention, I may be permitted to illustrate their method by applying it to an imaginary classification of the people of England. I must observe that, with the view of connecting the tribes, the genealogists make use of any name handed down by popular tradition; and when the supply is not sufficient, they insert names like Zayd, 'Abd Allah, answering to our John, William. Let me consider the parishioners of Mary-le-bone as a tribe, which, as is frequently the case with Arabic clans, bears the name of their mother, Mary, a daughter of John, a son of Middlesex. Her husband, William, was a son of Cockney, who also begot Westminster, Pancras, and other sons. Cockney's father, John, was the son of Saxon, who also begot Essex, Sussex, Middlesex, Surrey. Saxon's father, Hengist, also begot Wilt, Kent, and other sons; and his father, English, also begot York, Lancaster. In this manner the genealogy might be continued to Teuto, Arya, Japhet, and Adam; and if Mr. John Smith, of Mary-le-bone, was ambitious enough to make out his lineage up to the father of mankind, he would merely have to enumerate his noble ancestors, calling the most remote he knows the son of Mary. The Arabs obtained, by following this method from Mohammed to Ma'add, a series of twenty successive fathers. Ma'add they called the son of 'Adnân, and there they stopped, contenting themselves for some time with the assertion that the ancestor of 'Adnân was Nabt, son of Kedar, son of

Ishmael. Towards the end of the first century some genealogists made a timid attempt to connect the pedigree by asserting that 'Adnân was the son of Yasny, the son of 'Irâq, the son of Tharyz, the son of Nabt, the son of Kedar, the son of Ishmael; but 'Orwa and his friends were so much shocked at this invention that they alleged two traditions of the prophet, in which the genealogists are branded as story-tellers. Ibn Kelby, who died 206 A.H., made the following calculations: between Abraham and Moses there were ten generations, each of 100 years; from Moses to the birth of Christ there elapsed 1900, and from Christ to the birth of Moḥammed 569 years; calculating the generation at about forty years, he came to the conclusion that between Moses and Moḥammed 61 generations must have passed; and as the genealogists enumerated only 21 fathers between Moḥammed and 'Adnân, there was a gap of forty fathers to the time of Moses in the genealogy. He made no attempt at filling it up, but a happy circumstance enabled one of his pupils to complete the pedigree of Ma'add, the son of 'Adnân. A Jewish convert of Palmyra discovered the private papers of the prophet Baruch, and they contained the genealogy of the ancestors of Moḥammed from Ishmael to 'Adnân. The missing link was now found, and every Ma'addite was enabled to enumerate his and the prophet's lineage up to the father of mankind.

The genealogy of the Arabian tribes, considered as a series of ethnographical symbols, is very valuable, and the more we enter into it the more we must admire the tact with which the relation of one tribe to another is expressed. The forgery ascribed to Baruch, on the contrary, if not carefully kept asunder from the symbolical portion of the genealogy, can have no other effect than to mar the whole. The ethnographers who framed the symbols made no attempt to bring it in unison with chronology; the forgery which is intended to make up for this defect contains a list of generations, which for nearly two thousand years successively alone represented the Ishmaelitic race. With Ma'add at length, who, if we expect to find in the symbols any attention to chronology, would have lived shortly before the commencement of our

era, the Ishmaelites begin to ramify and to become a nation. This we shall see is the very time when they rapidly advanced towards becoming extinct.

The Rabbinical tradition which connects the Arabs with Kedar, the son of Ishmael, seems to be very ancient, and I shall attempt to expose its origin lower down.

The Anglo-Saxons in England and in America know very well that possession of the soil does not of necessity imply descent from the former occupants. The arguments which can be adduced for the Ishmaelitic descent of the northern Arabians having been shown not to be cogent, I will state my views on the subject, and begin by fixing the localities which the Ishmaelites once occupied.

The term Ishmaelites has in Scripture sometimes a narrower, sometimes a wider sense, resembling in this respect the term England, which is frequently used to mean Great Britain. In the wider sense the term includes the Midianites, who were the children of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2), whereas the Ishmaelites were his descendants by Hagar. Thus in Judges viii. verse 24 it is said of the Midianites: "They had golden earrings, because they were Ishmaelites." It seems that these two races, connected as they were by blood, acted at times as confederates, and were then both comprised under the name of Ishmaelites. Genesis xxv. 6 leaves no doubt that the "east country," *i.e.* the Syrian Desert, was considered their original home, and they are therefore collectively called "children of the east" in Judges viii. 10. Nay, this name is even applied to those Ishmaelites who had left their original seats and settled south of Palestine, like the Kedar (Jer. xlix. 28). Yet we meet both the Ishmaelites and the Midianites first in the peninsula of Sinai and the adjacent desert as far as Egypt and Palestine; and here, as in other places, the Amalekites were their neighbours. Not far from Sinai Moses met Jethro, "the priest of the Midianites," and in the same country Hagar settled with her son, "And God was with the lad; and he grew, and dwelt in the wilderness (*i.e.* took to nomadic habits), and became an archer. And he dwelt in the

wilderness of Paran: and his mother took him a wife out of the land of Egypt." (Gen. xxi. 20, 21.) Paran is the desert which surrounds Ayla ('Aqaba). The two races were partners in the possession of the road leading to Egypt, and in the commerce carried on upon it, which in those days must have been very considerable: "And, behold, a company (caravan) of Ishmaelites came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery (tragacanth) and balm and myrrh (ladanum), going to carry it down to Egypt. Then there passed by Midianites merchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph out of the pit, and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver: and they brought Joseph into Egypt." (Gen. xxxvii. 25, 28.) At an early age they also seem both to have had a purer religion than other Gentile nations, and to have for this reason been the friends of the Israelites. The mode of life and occupation of both races were similar but not exactly identical, and the Midianites were decidedly the wealthier, more independent, and more powerful of the two, as we shall see lower down.

The limits of the country of the Ishmaelites (including, as I presume, the Midianites), are stated in Gen. xxv. 18 as follows: "And they dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria." Havilah is, as I intend to show in another essay, identical with Khaulân, the most northern province of Yemen (southern Arabia); and consequently Yemen and Havilah are divided by the same line from northern Arabia: this line begins in the isle of Kodommol (Kotumble, lat. $17^{\circ} 52'$ of the Adm. Chart), and runs due east. By Shur the frontier between Egypt and the desert is meant in the Bible, and in so far it answers to *Fermâ* of Arabic geographers. This passage does certainly not mean that the Ishmaelites were the sole masters of this extensive country, for we read in 1 Sam. xv. 7, "And Saul smote the Amalekites from Havilah until thou comest to Shur, that is over against Egypt." From Havilah to Shur seems to have been an expression meaning all over the desert. I ought to mention that Yemen was in those days, and even at a later period (comp. *Peripl. Maris Eryth.* § 20),

as civilized as Egypt or Assyria, and did not belong to the lawless wilderness. In our days the people of Damascus would say in this sense, "as far as Nejd." They use this expression in phrases like "Fayçal's protection is respected as far as Nejd," *i.e.* all over the desert.

In Genesis xxv. 13-15 twelve sons (tribes) of Ishmael are enumerated; "The firstborn of Ishmael, Nebaioth; and Kedar, and Adbeel, and Mibsam, and Mishma, and Dumah, and Massa, Hadar, and Tema, Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah."

Of these names that of Kedar occurs most frequently in Scripture; thus in the Song of Solomon i. 5, "I am black, but comely, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon." Kedar means squalid in Hebrew, and Gesenius thinks that the Kedareens were called so owing to their dark complexion. It is much more likely that they owed their name to their black hair tents. Beni Kedar would in this case answer to the Arabic Ahl alwabar, people of the hair [tent], and mean sons of the black [tent]. Ezekiel, xxvii. 21, where he speaks of Tyrus, says: "Arabia, and all the princes (shaykhs as we would say) of Kedar, they occupied with thee in lambs, and rams, and goats: in these were they thy merchants." This passage requires some observations. It is certain that commerce was never so much developed in the east that the Tyrians or any other merchants exported sheep and goats from a distant country, like Arabia, to sell them in another. The prophet can therefore only mean to say that the butchers of Tyrus obtained their supply of sheep and goats from the Arabs (Arabia is an erroneous translation) and from the Kedareens. If we go from the coast of Tyrus into the interior, we reach, after one day's journey, a hilly country, which extends from Jebel Shaykh to the north, and which could never have been used for any other purpose than for pasturing sheep and goats, and it is, with its slopes towards the east, so extensive that it could provide Tyrus and all the neighbourhood with this commodity. Both the Arabs and the Kedareens of whom Ezekiel speaks must therefore have inhabited this hilly region.

Isaiah, lx. 6, 7, who resided in the kingdom of Judæa, speaks of the *camels* of Midian and Ephah (a subdivision of the Midianites), of the *rams* of Nebaioth, and of the *flocks* (of sheep and goats) of Kedar. The Kedareens north of Jebel Shaykh were too distant to admit of their bringing their cattle to the markets of Judæa. The Nebaiot and Kedar of Isaiah must have been situated south of Palestine, in the neighbourhood of Wâdiy Ghorondol, and west of it, and branches of these tribes may even have visited the barren tracts in southern Palestine, which yielded pasture for goats, just as in our days Beduins roam about between cultivated districts, preserving all the independence to which they are entitled by their pastoral habits. In these two passages the Kedareens (and their brethren the Nebaiot) are represented as breeders of goats and sheep. This is very characteristic, because the tribes in the depth of the open desert devote themselves chiefly to breeding camels and occasionally horses also, and they find it neither profitable nor convenient to keep more sheep and goats than is necessary for domestic purposes. In Arabia this branch of industry is particularly cultivated by hill tribes, who may or may not be in possession of plains of inconsiderable extent. A passage of Jeremiah, xlix. 28, is not really opposed to this view; but as we learn from it that the Kedareens also possessed camels, it induces us to allot to them a considerable share in the open desert west of Wâdiy Ghorondol and in Dârûm: "Concerning Kedar, and concerning the kingdoms of Hazor, which Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon shall smite, thus said the Lord; Arise ye, go up to Kedar, and spoil the men of the east. Their tents and their flocks (of sheep and goats) shall they take away: they shall take to themselves their curtains (tents), and all their vessels, and their camels." Isaiah, xxi. 17, speaks of the archers of Kedar: "And the residue of the number of archers, the mighty men of the children of Kedar, shall be diminished." In Arabian warfare archery is very useful for defending a strong position, but in the open field the use of archers is, even in case of defence, very limited, because the enemy's cavalry is sure to turn their flank and to compel

them by feigned attacks to spend their arrows. In *razias*, and night attacks, the warfare most usual among the genuine Beduins, archers are of no use whatsoever. The great object of the enemy in a *razia* is to traverse with speed great distances, and to attack the victims unawares, and therefore the strength of a Beduin army consists in horsemen and camel-riders. Even for defence the bow can rarely be used in such attacks, because, if the surprise should fail, the assailants retire as fast as they had advanced, avoiding an encounter. If a fight ensues, it is a close attack, where only sword and dagger can be used. In our days there are tribes in the desert who even disdain the use of firearms, finding that good cavalry armed with long spears and javelins answers all their purposes. No doubt in all nomadic tribes there were in former days individuals to be found who practised archery, both for the purposes of hunting and of warfare; but a tribe with whom it was a hereditary skill (it is stated that Ishmael was an excellent archer) must have had its seats in a broken country which offered strong military positions, and where the flocks had to be protected against wild beasts, in a country made for shepherds, and not in the open desert. We learn from Isaiah xlii. 11 that not all the Kedareens lived in tents: in extensive pasture grounds (*midbar*) they had towns and *hazerim*, which may mean sheepfolds surrounded by a stone wall—like those which we find in Antilibanon—or entrenchments.

Winer refers to some passages of the Bible which, as he thinks, prove that the Kedareens could not have lived in the immediate vicinity of Judæa. It appears to me that they prove the very reverse. One of them is Psalm cxx. 5, "Woe is me, that I sojourn in Mesech, that I dwell in the tents of Kedar!" Mesech (the Moschi near the Caucasus) answers here to our Ultima Thule, and the Psalmist means to say that he is a fugitive, and compelled either to flee to the end of the world or to take refuge among the free sons of Kedar. Jeremiah, ii. 10, says: "Pass over the isles of Chittim, and see; and send unto Kedar, and consider diligently, and see if there be such a thing." He means to say neither among mariners

nor among nomads you will find the like. Isaiah, xlii. 10, enlarges on this poetical idea, and adds to the mariners and the Kedar "the inhabitants of the rock" (*troglydites*). As the Kedar were among all nomadic tribes best known to the Jews, because they were nearest to them, their name, it appears, was used in the sense of *Scenitæ*, inhabitants of tents; and this seems to have induced the authors of the Talmud to consider 'Arab and Kedar as synonyms, for the word 'Arab is used in the Qorân, as well as in common parlance, for nomads, *Scenitæ*.

Pliny S., v. § 65, found the Cedrei in the same spot in which we have placed the Kedareens of Isaiah. He speaks of the desert east of the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile, and says: "Hæc Catabanum et Esbonitarum et Scenitarum Arabum vocatur, sterilis, præterquam ubi Syriæ confinia attingit, nec nisi Casio monte nobilis. His Arabes junguntur, ab oriente Canchlei, a meridie Cedrei qui deinde ambo Nabatæis." According to this passage they are to be placed west of Wâdiy Ghorondol, the limit of the Nabatæans (Idumæans). Eusebius and Hieronymus, *Onomasticum* edit. Parthey, Berlin, 1862, p. 259, are the latest authors who mention Kedar, but as the name of a place: "est regio in eremo Saracenorum, a filio Ismaelis Cedar ita cognominata." The Saracenic desert extends from Madian to the north, and round the gulf of 'Aqaba to the west, comprising the desert of Paran.

Jetur and Naphish are two Ishmaelitic tribes, whose seats have been identified with great certainty. In 1 Chronicles v. 18-19 it is stated that "The sons of Reuben, and the Gadites, and half the tribe of Manasseh, made war with the Hagarites, with Jetur, and Naphish, and Nodab;" and it hence appears that these tribes, which it seems subsequently united into one, occupied the country east of the Jordan, called by St. Luke, iii. 1, by Strabo, Eusebius, and other writers, Ituræa. One of these tribes may have held Trachonitis. The latest accounts of the Ituræans is that they sent a contingent to the army of the Emperor Valerian.

It is usually supposed that Nebaiot, whom, as we have seen, Isaiah mentions with Kedar, is the same tribe as the

Nabatæans of later authors. But the spelling of the two names, נבט and נביוה, is quite different, and so is the pronunciation for the Shemitic ear. And Strabo says, in reference to the nomenclature of his predecessors, that the Nabatæans are the same people whom the Jews call Idumæans. If we interpret the two verses of Genesis xxviii. 9 and xxxvi. 3 by the rules followed by Arabic genealogists, we must admit that there existed a closer affinity between some of the children of Edom (Esau) and the Nebaiot, than between them and the other Ishmaelites; and there is also reason to suppose that the Nebaiot had their seats in the neighbourhood of the Idumæans, yet they were two different races; and if we, with Josephus, extend Nabatene from the Euphrates to the Red Sea, we do not get nearer to our subject. All we know is that the Nebaiot were shepherds, like the Kedar.

Mishma was also the name of a Simeonitic tribe (1 Chron. iv. 25), and we do not know whether two tribes had the same name, or whether the Mishma were a mixed race, and by some regarded as Ishmaelites, and by others as Simeonites. Of Adbeel, Mibsam, Massa, Haddad, and Kedemah, Scripture offers no further information. There remain Dumah and Temah. I propose to make my remarks on them after having spoken of the Midianites.

The Ishmaelitic tribes whose acquaintance we have hitherto made were shepherds, and lived in the immediate vicinity of Palestine, south and east of it. They were not regular Beduins, and we may consider them as Ishmaelites in the more limited sense of the word. The wealth of the Midianites and of Ephra, on the contrary, consisted in camels; their seats must have been the vastnesses of the desert, and they were regular Beduins. Madian, which like *madtna*, may mean town, the root of both being *dtn*, and not Midian, which means strife, is the name of a city in lat. 28° 30', not far from the east coast of the gulf of 'Aqaba. As Moses met the priest of the Midianites at no great distance from the west coast of the same gulf, it may, nevertheless, have its name from the Midianites, and it is very probable that the Midianites were in possession of this part of Arabia. The

theatre of their warlike operations is, however, east of Palestine. Nearly 1200 years before Christ they emerged from the Syrian desert, appeared jointly with the Amalekites and other sons of the east, in the plains of Moab, pitched their tents in the valley of Jezreel, and conquered Palestine as far as the Mediterranean. After a subjection of seven years, the Lord awoke Gideon, and he slew their host. Two of their princes retired with fifteen thousand men, "all that were left of all the host of the children of the east," to Karkor; Gideon pursued them, made them prisoners, and slew them. Certain it is that on this occasion most of the tribes of the Syrian desert united against the Israelites, and it is of interest to observe that in this passage (Judges viii. 10) they are collectively called children of the east, just as in Ezekiel xxiv. 4-10, whereas in Judges vi. 3, 33, vii. 12, they are co-ordinate with the Midianites and Amalekites: "Then all the Midianites and the Amalekites and the children of the east were gathered together." It may be supposed that in the more limited sense, children of the east, B'ne Qedem, is the name of a tribe, descended from Kedemah the son of Ishmael, which occupied the most eastern regions of the desert and extended even over the Euphrates to Harrân, whose neighbourhood is called the land of the children of the east in Genesis xxix. 1. All these are controvertible questions, and we therefore limit our researches to the position of Karkor, which is spelled in the original קרקר. Hieronymy, sub voce Carcar (Onom. ed. Parthey p. 253), says: "Et est usque hodie castellum cognomento Carcaria unius diei itinere ab urbe Petra." Following the operations of the two armies, it is inconceivable how they could have got to the neighbourhood of Petra. Moreover, the spelling of this name in Arabic is كرك Kerek, to which in Hebrew כרך would answer, and Eusebius writes it Καρκά, and we therefore cannot help suspecting Hieronymy of having altered the name with a view of making it better agree with Karkor. In Arabic *garqar* means a smooth plain of no great extent, and Qorâqir is the name of a water-place two or three days' march (say 50 miles) east of 'Ammân, and this no doubt answers to Karkor.

In order to give an idea of the importance of this place, I must be permitted to make a few observations on the geography of the country round it. Between Dûmah (Jôf) and Jebel Shammar, a distance of 170 miles, extends the main body of the Dehnâ, a plain covered with fine sand, which in spring produces the most luxuriant herbage, sufficient for all the camels of Arabia to feed upon; but as the Dehnâ is without water, it can be utilized to a limited extent only. One of its branches strikes to north-west and then it turns towards north, and has now the name of Wâdiy Sirhân; formerly it was called Samâwa and also Qorâqir, because the water-place of this name is the principal one to which the camels grazing in these pasture-grounds resort to drink. Samâwa is the garden of the Syrian desert, and the only place whose owners are able to keep a large stock of camels: it therefore was always in the hands of the mightiest tribe of these regions, and indeed the tribe which holds Samâwa is supreme in the Syrian desert and in the adjacent parts of Arabia. In antiquity it appears this position was held by the Midianites, against whom Gideon fought, subsequently by the Kelbites, and in our days by the 'Anezeh.

These remarks bring us to Dumah and Tema. It is generally admitted that Dumah is identical with the Dûmah (the orthography is the same), also called Dûmat-al-jandal, of Arabic geographers, now known by the name of Jôf. It is an oasis about half way between Petra and the Euphrates. Bunsen takes Tema for the Thaimi of Ptolemæus, on the Persian Gulf. But the place of the Thaimi is occupied by the Banu Taym, and their name has been transcribed by Ptolemy without alteration. The spelling of Tema is precisely that of Taymâ (pronounced Têmâ), the name of a town four easy days' journey south-west of Dûmah. These two oases are an appendage to the Samâwa; and a tribe which holds these pasturing grounds will, sooner or later, obtain possession of them. Hence we conclude that the two tribes, Dumah and Tema, were in close relation to the Midianites of Karkor, and were Ishmaelites only in the wider sense of the term.

Besides the Dehnâ (now caelld Nufood), south of Dûmah, just mentioned, there is another Nufood in Northern Arabia, east of the town of Madian. Its length from north to south may be estimated at sixty miles, and its breadth at thirty. It offers pasturing grounds for thousands of camels, which find water at the brackish but copious wells and ponds of Hîsmâ, situated on the north-western extremity. The tribes of the desert of Jifâr, as far as Egypt, and even of part of the peninsula of Sinai, must either drive their camels for some months of the year into this Nufood, or they must reduce their stock to a very low standard; and therefore they must either live in poverty or be dependent upon the tribe which may be in possession of it. As this position is so important, and commands, as it were, the country all around, we naturally ask who may have held it in antiquity? To answer this question I must first observe, that the commerce of Arabia was then very considerable, and that its caravans imported the spices of tropical climates into Egypt and Syria. The profits which the leaders of caravans derived from it were great, and the conveyance of goods was a monopoly of the most powerful tribes along the road. (Pliny, 12, 14, § 63-4.) We may therefore take it as a fact that the race to which the caravan that bought Joseph belonged, was then in possession of the Nufood of Hîsmâ, and this race was no other than the Ishmaelito-Midianitic.

There are three mercantile roads leading from Yemen through Mekka, to Syria. The most eastern and shortest passes through Taymâ, and thence through the desert to Damascus, but this desert is occupied by savage tribes, and even in the times of the 'Abbâsides, the strongest caravans would not venture to pass it; but during the reign of the Omayyides, there were, as Moqaddasy informs us, relays of dromedaries posted along it to keep up the communication between Mekka and Damascus. The most western road on which the town Madian was a station touches the western margin of the Nufood of Hîsmâ, and the middle road which passes through Tebûk is not far from the eastern margin. These two roads were commanded by

Ishmaelito-Midianitic tribes. As long as they were supreme in the pasturing grounds of the Nufood, and as they also held Taymâ and even Dûmah, not an ounce of frankincense or spice could reach Egypt or Syria, by land, without their having a share in the profits.

There is no doubt that in the highest antiquity genuine Arabic tribes (perhaps from Nejd) were visiting the Syrian desert, and probably also the neighbourhood of Hîsmâ, and owing to the continuous feuds among nomadic races, the changes of fortune may have been great; but it is certain that there has been a period in which the Ishmaelito-Midianites were paramount in northern Arabia and the desert north and west of it. I will now show that at the time of Moḥammed, and even earlier, they had completely disappeared in these regions, and were succeeded by Arabic tribes of the Qaḥṭân race, which had gradually left Yemen and pushed on towards Syria.

In enumerating these tribes and fixing their new seats, I follow more particularly Hamdâny. The Nufood, near Madian and Hîsmâ, was occupied by the Jodzâm. The southern limit of their territory was "Nebk on the sea shore." It seems that Nebk is the ancient name of Mowayliḥ (Moila, lat. $27^{\circ} 40'$ of the map). This tribe extended along the coast as far as Ayla ('Aqaba); but at 'Aynûnâ, lat. $28^{\circ} 8'$, it also spread to the east as far as Tebûk, and it occupied Adzroḥ and Mo'an, then the capital of Idumæa. Here resided at the time of Moḥammed the Jodzâmite king Farwa, who ruled over the country under Byzantine protection. Some Jodzâm tribes had settled in the hills east of the Dead Sea, among the 'Odzra, which were here predominant, and others, as we shall see, near Egypt. Detached tribes of the Jodzâm lived in the valley of the Jordan, near Tiberias, as far as Lajjûn and 'Akkâ.

The Lakhm were close relations and confederates of the Jodzâm. Their principal seats were in the desert Jifâr, which extends from the meridian of Ayla to Egypt. On the western extremity of Jifâr, at Warrâda, Baqqâra and 'Arysh, Jodzâmite, and Lakhmite families were settled;

whereas Fermâ, "the frontier between the Arabs and the Copts," was occupied by families of the Josham, a sub-division of Jodzâm. Dârûm, east of Jifâr, was exclusively Lakhmitic territory. Detached Lakhmite tribes were in Jaulân, Nawâ (Burckh., lat. $33^{\circ} 10'$, writes Nowa), Bathnyya, and Haurân. In these places (the ancient seats of the Jetur) Johayna, Dzobyân, and some sub-divisions of the Qayn, lived among them, and the east coast of the Dead Sea they shared with the 'Odzra and Jodzâm, but in the track between Tebûk and Zoghar, on the Dead Sea, which also belonged to them, they seem to have been without partners, excepting, perhaps, the 'Odzra, to whom Tebûk belonged.

The Kelb were in exclusive possession of the Samâwa, which, Hamdâny tells us, extends in a westerly direction nearly as far as Haurân (or Wâdiy Sirhân in Burckhardt's map), and towards Palmyra in the north. Their king, Farwa Dyly, who resided in Samâwa, and reigned at the commencement of Islâm, was not a Kelbite, but a member of the dynastic family of Ghassân, and had been appointed by the Byzantine Emperor. From Samâwa the Kelbite tribes radiated as far as the Syrian desert extends, to the cultivated land on the banks of the Euphrates in the east, and to Manbij, Tell-Mannas, and Kafar-Tâb in the north. Palmyra and the Oasis Salamiyya are therefore called Kelbite towns by Hamdâny; they even spread over the gulfs and inlets of the Syrian desert, they approached close to Homç and to Hamâh, and occupied the hills called Sanyr, that is to say the portion of Antilibanon north of Ba'lbek stretching towards Homç, and the hilly country east of Hamâh. The latter hills offer an important position for robbers, and there are at present few roads in Syria less safe than the one leading along their foot. The wealth of the occupants of Sanyr must have consisted of sheep and goats, like that of the Kedareens of old; and it may be taken as a rule that tribes of this character are emerging from the nomadic state and advancing towards settled life; cases to the contrary, that they consist of a rural population in a state of decomposition, do occur, but are very rare. Of the Kelbites of Sanyr, it is certain that they

were in a state of transition to sedentary habits; of the Kedareens it may be inferred by analogy. We are therefore justified in supposing that their original homes were in the depth of the Syrian Desert—they were really sons of the East. In the north of the Syrian desert there were, between the Kelbites, camps of Kilâbites, and so there may have been other Arabic tribes mixed with them in other places out of Samâwa. The Kelbites, however, were supreme, and the other tribes roamed over these regions only by sufferance as it were. The population of Dûmat-al-Jandal, which we consider as an appendage to the Syrian desert, and where not Arabian but Syrian architecture and Syrian habits are prevailing, consisted of Kelbites, but, probably by their own choice, they were protected by a prince of the Kindite dynasty, which in Byzantine historians is represented as ruling over Nejd. The influence of the emperors of Constantinople did not therefore extend as far as this Oasis.

The 'Âmila took possession at an early period of the hills which stretch from Tiberias towards the Mediterranean, and which were named after them during the Moslim conquests; and there settled in their vicinity, particularly near 'Akka, families of the Hamdân, Balhârith, 'Akk, and Madzhij tribes.

From the mountains of the 'Âmila to Damascus, says Hamdâny, the Jafna and other Ghassanitic tribes have their seats. The Ghassânites appear never to have been very numerous, but they were powerful, and their kings ruled over all the Arabic tribes in and near Syria who had submitted to the Byzantines, with the exception of the Jodzâmites and Lakhmites.

The Dzobyân [Ibn Homaym?] possessed the Biyâdh, also called Biyâdh of Qarqara, which is a desert extending from Taymâ to Haurân. Among them there were some camps of the Tayy-tribe. The eastern limits of their territory in the north were the Janâbyyât, so called after the Kelb tribe Janâb, and frequently considered as part of Samâwa. They were permitted to visit the water of Qorâqir (the Karkor of the Bible), and that of 'Orâ'ir; and the former was also

visited by the Qayn, whose territory extended from here as far as the hills east of the Dead Sea.

There are two other tribes in Syria who had submitted to the Byzantines: the Bahrâ, who occupied the plains south and west of Hômc, and the Tanûkh, who embraced Christianity, and fixed their abode near Lâdiqyya. According to Ibn Ishâq the Baly also sent a contingent to the Byzantine army, which operated against Moḥammed. I have not been able to discover a settlement of this tribe in or near Syria. The seats of the Baly are, up to this day, south of Nebk, on the mountains along the coast of the Red Sea. The Kelbites, as it would appear, were too numerous, and too widely spread over the desert, to allow of their feeling much the supremacy of the Byzantines. The other tribes whom we have enumerated were tamed nomads, their strength and numbers were in the desert, but their leaders resided, at least part of the year, in towns, where also many of their clansmen settled and devoted themselves to commerce and industry; yet the main population of towns and cultivated patches of land consisted of autochthons: Syrians, Jews, Edomites. In times of war the Arabs turned out, or sent at least considerable contingents to the Imperial army, and in times of peace their "kings" were the military governors of the provinces in which they were in great strength. Even at Damascus, it seems there was a garrison of Arabs commanded by a member of one of their dynasties. The increased navigation of the Red Sea reduced the importance of the caravan commerce considerably. Yet at the commencement of our era caravans were still passing from the frankincense region to Egypt and Syria. The proprietors of the goods were townsmen;—among them many Arabs—the conveyance thereof continued to be the monopoly of powerful nomadic tribes along the road. The most northern of them were, no doubt, the Jodzâm-Lakhmites.

To show that the Yemenic origin of the successors of the Ishmaelites is not a fancy of the genealogists, but founded upon facts, I will shortly state here an instance, leaving further details on the migration of the Arabs for another

occasion. The genealogists report that the name of the Ghassânites is derived from the name of a watering place of theirs. We are able to fix the position of this place with great exactness. It is situated in valley Rima⁶ (in Nieb.'s map Râma), near the spot where it opens into the Tihâma (plains along the coast), in lat. 14° 41'. On the same coast there were at the time of Agatharchides (apud Diod.) the Gasandi, at the time of Pliny the Gasani, and at the time of Ptolemy the Kassanitæ. Examining then the series of Ghassanite kings who ruled in their new habitations south of Damascus, we find that it goes back to the year 400 after Christ, and we may therefore suppose that they settled in the third or fourth century in Syria.

The children of Ishmael, "who dwelt in the wilderness," had, like their successors, their root and source of life in the desert, more particularly in Samâwa and in the Nufood of Hismâ. In the fifth century of our era we cannot find a corner of the desert which they could call their own; every where they had disappeared. What has become of them? We know the Shemitic laws of war: most of them had been smitten with the sword, the rest fled to the hills and into towns and villages where they were gradually absorbed by the inhabitants they found there. They ceased, long previous to the Moslim conquests, to form a race of their own.

In reference to their ethnological relation to other Shemites, we have no other information than that contained in the Bible, and this, as well as the form of their proper names, leads us to think that their affinity to the Israelites and the Edomites was much greater than to the Arabs.

ART. II.—*A Brief Account of Four Arabic Works on the History and Geography of Arabia.* By Captain S. B. MILES.

Read April 29th, 1872.

I venture to lay before the Society a brief notice of four Arabic MS. works on the History and Geography of Arabia, which appear to me sufficiently interesting from their rarity and the nature of their contents to merit attention.

The political history of the Arabs divides itself naturally into two epochs; the Preislamic and the Mohammedan or historical period. The former, at least so far as we are acquainted with it, comprised three empires, of which the earliest, and unquestionably the most important, was the Himyar dynasty of Yemen. The chronicles of this state would, had they been fortunately preserved to us, probably have furnished one of the most instructive and entertaining chapters in the history of mankind; but they are so enveloped in fable, and the sources of trustworthy information are so exceedingly scant and fragmentary, that no researches have yet availed to dissipate entirely the gloom that hangs over that period, and it remains buried in as profound an obscurity as that of any other country of the East. A great advance, however, has been made of late years in increasing the materials of Arabian research, and the ultimate recovery of at least a considerable portion of this lost history is by no means to be despaired of. There is good reason to believe that various historical MSS. of more or less value, but as yet unknown to Europeans, still exist in Arabia, and that from the oral traditions and legends of the people, especially of the Himyar tribes, which have been only very partially investigated, much may yet be gleaned; but the field in which we may expect to find the most ample materials for the reconstruction of the ancient edifice obviously lies in the ruined cities of S.W. Arabia, now known to abound in inscriptions in stone and bronze and other historical monu-

ments of the Himyaritic empire, which, when brought to light and interpreted, cannot fail to yield very important accessions to our knowledge. Several specimens, too, of Himyaritic coins—the key to the country's history, and regarding the very existence of which so much doubt has hitherto been felt—have been recently obtained; and, as our store of them increases, will, by their unerring and concurrent testimony, be of no slight service in elucidating it. It is much to be hoped that before long an exploration of the country may be undertaken, and its hidden treasures drawn forth and made available; but in the mean time every additional ray of light, however small, that can be thrown on its history cannot but be welcome.

For the modern history of Yemen, on the other hand, our materials are much more abundant and authentic; and it is somewhat surprising that there is yet no work in any of the languages of Europe that gives a full and connected account of the affairs of that region from the time of the prophet Mohammed. The only attempt of the kind that I know of is Playfair's "History of Yemen," which, though useful, is but a bare outline of events.

The few MSS. I am attempting to describe are well worthy the attention of students of Arabian history and literature, and fully deserve, I think, to be edited and translated. The names of them are:—The *Ikkil fi Ansab*, of *Hassan bin Ahmed el Hamdani*; the *Kitab el Jesireh* of the same author; the *Tarikh el Mostabsir* of *Ibn el Mojawir*, and the *Kurrat el Oyûn* of *El Dubbi*.

It is not my intention to analyze these works; but in order to give a fair conception of their contents, I translate most of the rubrics or heads of chapters of each.

The first of them, the *Ikkil*, is described by Hajji Khalfa as a great work, and a wealth of learning, and though it certainly contains a good deal of astrological trash, appears to deserve his encomiums. It is a repertory of all the information that could be collected on the subject of the Himyarites at the time the author wrote, about three centuries subsequent to the fall of that dynasty. It is, I am persuaded, the same

work that was met with by Baron Wrede during his journey in Hadramaut, and from which he transcribed the list of kings and tobbas given in the edition of his Travels lately published by the Baron von Maltzan.

The second is a very admirable description of Arabia and its people, more particularly of the S.W. portion, and is, I should say, of the best class of Arab geographies. It is a book rarely met with even in Arabia, and only one copy has, I believe, as yet reached Europe. The present volume is an 8vo. of 496 pages of 17 lines in a page, and contains also a copy of Nishwan's Kasideh and its commentary.

These two works of Hamdani are a mine of information on the early history and geography of Arabia, and unquestionably present many new and important materials. His intimate acquaintance with the various tribes and the physical features of the country is especially noteworthy. Hamdani was presumably one of the most learned men of his age, and must have been an indefatigable collector of knowledge, for if he did not himself visit the places he describes in Yemen, he managed at least to gather together a very unusual store of information regarding them, and he must take a high rank among the native historians of that land. Very little seems to be known of his life, the celebrated Es Soyuti being apparently the only one who has collected any information respecting him. The cause of this may have been partly on account of his heterodox opinions, as he is known to have been rather a free-thinker in matters of religion, an offence that would have sufficed to insure his exclusion from Moslem biographies. Hammer-Purgstall, in his *Literatur-Geschichte der Araber*, quoting from Es Soyuti's *Lives of the Grammarians*, tells us that Hamdani was born and brought up at Sanaa, wandered thence to Mecca, where he sojourned some time, then returned to Yemen, and settled himself at Sada, where he died A.H. 334; that he embraced all knowledge, and was a living encyclopædia of grammar, poetry, genealogy, history, astronomy, astrology, and geometry, and was also a physician. He was the author of at least ten works, many of which are given by Hajji Khalfa. Their names are as follows: (1.) The

Iklil fi Ansab, or Crown of Genealogies. (2.) The Book of Animals. (3.) The Book of Archery. (4.) The Book of Battle days. (5.) The Book of Roads and Kingdoms. (6.) The Description of Arabia. (7.) The Wonders of Yemen. (8.) The Diwan Hassan, a collection of poetry, in six volumes. (9.) The Kasideh ed Damighat. (10.) The Zij el Hamdani, astronomical tables. (11.) The Sirr el Hikmet. Of these, the fifth and sixth are, I suspect, but one and the same work under different titles, as the latter is not named by any author. Two only of all his compositions appear to have come down to us, the others have probably not been preserved. Hamdani's full name was *Abu Mohammed Hassan bin Ahmed bin Yacoub bin Eusef bin Daood el Hamdani el Yemeni*, and he was commonly known by the name of *Ibn Haik*.

From the title-page of the eighth volume of the *Iklil* I give the following list of contents of the ten books composing that work:—

- 1st Volume.—Abridged account of the beginning and origin of the Genealogies.
- 2nd Vol.—Progeny of Hamaisa bin Himyar.
- 3rd Vol.—The branches of Kahtan.
- 4th Vol.—On ancient history to the time of Tobba Abi Karib.
- 5th Vol.—On mediæval history from the first days of Asaad Tobba to the days of Dhu Nowas.
- 6th Vol.—On later history to the Islam.
- 7th Vol.—On some absurd accounts and impossible anecdotes of the Prophet.
- 8th Vol.—Account of the palaces of the Himyars, their cities and courts, and what has been preserved of their poetry.
- 9th Vol.—On the proverbs of the Himyars, and the prophecies in their language and musnad character.
- 10th Vol.—Account of Hashid and Bakail.

Contents of Volume VIII.—Chapter on what has come down to us concerning the palaces (تصور) of Yemen.—Account of Sanaa and its citadel Ghumdân.—Of Dhofar the

celebrated and its citadel.—The palace of Kaukeban.—The onyx mines in Yemen.—Account of Irem.—Of Nait.—Of the royal palace of Yaruk.—Of Mareb and Saba.—Of the palace of Natheed on Ras Asser.—Of Beit Hanbas and its ruins.—Of Debil.—Shehrâr.—Beinoon in Ans.—Dâmigh between Sanaa and Dhamar.—The Wadi Zohr.—Of Reâm and the place of eruption of fire.—Account of the mosques of Yemen.—Account of Gheiman, in which are the tombs of Himyar kings.—Of Musna, Hadha and Bu Hadha.—Of Sirwah, and what the poets have said of it.—Of Hidkan.—Ridaa.—Shibâm.—Najar.—Moukal.—Hakir.—Adhra.—Sarw.—The palace of Dhilan.—Of Rauthan.—The palaces of Shahi, one of the wonders of Yemen.—Of Khamir, one of the wonders of Hamdan.—Of Tulkum, one of the most ancient palaces of Yemen.—Of Shaoob and its palaces.—Ekla and its vast ruins.—Maeen.—Barakish and Baidha.—Souda and many other places.—The book of Dams or Bunds of the Himyars.—The dam of Mareb.—The dam of Khanik at Sada.—The dam of Riân and Niseân, and many others in Yemen and Hamdan.—Chapter on the treasures of Yemen and where they are hidden.—Chapter on the musnad character or writing of the Himyarites.—Chapter on the sepulchres of the Himyars and the inscriptions found in them.—Sepulchre of Hood in Hadramaut.—Of Abdulla bin Thamir, and others.—Account of the elegies of the Himyarites.—On Kahtan.—Saba bin Yeshgob.—Himyar, Suksuk bin Wail.—Moghâfir.—Shedad, and others.

Contents of Volume X.—This volume gives the origin and genealogy of the Hâshid and Bakail tribes, and contains also a short account of that province and of Hamdan.—It also contains a treatise on the mines of gems and metals in Yemen, in which the localities of about sixty are given, including ten gold and eleven silver mines.

The Kitâb Jazīret el Arab.

Contents.—Introduction.—On the climates of Hermes Trismegistus.—The climates of Ptolemy.—The latitudes and longitudes of the cities of Arabia.—Description of the

inhabited regions of Arabia.—Account of Yemen and Socotra.—Account of Aden, the most ancient emporium of Arabia.—Account of Sanaa, the mother of Yemen.—The wadies and mountains of Yemen.—Account of Hadramaut and Beled Kindah.—The townships or districts of Yemen.—The Tehama and the land of Oman.—The plants of Yemen.—The languages of Arabia.—Account of El Yemamah, its climate and productions.—Description of the Jôf.—Account of Bahrein.—Celebrated places between Yemen and Nejd.—Chapter on the towns of mixed population between Irak and Sham and Yemen.—Ancient emporia of Arabia.—Highways of El Irak.—Routes from Sanaa.—Routes from Aden.—Routes in Hadramaut.—Wonders of Yemen not to be found elsewhere.—The divisions of the peninsula of Arabia.—Extracts from ancient geographical poems.

The next work, the *Tarikh el Mostabsir*, of *Mohammed bin Yacoob ibn el Mojawir el Shami el Baghdadi*, commonly called *El Kâtib*, is a curious topographical work descriptive of South Arabia, unsystematic perhaps in its arrangement, but interesting and valuable from being the result of personal observation, and from the simplicity and minuteness of detail with which the author records his facts. It is a very useful companion to the geography of Hamdani, as it illustrates certain points on which the latter was not well informed; as for instance, the little known country between Yemen and Oman, on which he throws great light. Besides the geographical part, also, the author describes the manners and customs of the people, and gives other information nowhere else to be met with. The book is indeed eminently readable, and would well bear translation. I know nothing of the author except that he travelled a good deal in Arabia, and died about A.H. 650. Copies are very scarce, and it is I believe almost unknown in Yemen.

Contents.—Account of Mecca, its names, history, etc.—Some manners and customs of Mecca.—Description of Taief.—Account of El Hejaz.—Historical account and description of Jedda.—Historical account and description of Zebeed.—Description of Bab el Mandeb.—Magnificence of the Moud-

zeria.—Routes from Aara.—Account of Aden in ancient times.—Of its gate and aqueduct.—The building of Aden.—The kings of Ajam or Aden.—Description of Aden, its walls and wells.—Of its commerce, revenue and trade in slave-girls.—Destruction of Aden.—Building of Dumlooha.—Description of Taiez.—Description of Jebel Sabbar.—Wonders of Yemen.—Building of Sanaa.—Citadel of Ghumdân.—Description of Sanaa.—Wonders of Dhamar.—Description of marriage ceremony there.—Routes and stages from Sanaa.—Account of the dam of Mareb, called El Mázameen.—Routes and stages from Mareb.—Destruction of ancient Sada.—Building of Sada.—Routes and stages from Sada.—The Tehama.—Account of Nejd.—Marriage ceremonies in Nejd.—Routes and stages from Zebeed.—Building of Ahwab.—Account and description of Shibam.—Route from Shibam to Dhofar.—Destruction of Dhofar.—Account of ancient road.—Account of the Island of Socotra.—Route from Munsoora to Merbat.—Account of the Mahra tribe.—Of the Ibadhia sect.—From Munsoora to Aden.—Description of Kalhât.—From Kalhât to Muscat.—Of Sohar.—Of Dar el Kheima.—Of the Island of Kais and the pearl fishery.

The last work I have to describe is on the modern history of Yemen, and comprises a period of about nine hundred years from the introduction of Islam to the time the author wrote. It is the *Kitâb Kurrat el Oyûn bil Khabar el Yemen el Maimoon*, by the *Shaikh Abdurrahman bin Ali el Dubbi el Sheibani el Zebeedi*, and is a very useful epitome of events in that region. It appears to have been compiled almost exclusively from the valuable work of *El Khuzraji*, of which it may be considered an abridgment; however, it brings down the history to about a century later. It is one of the best known and commonest histories of Yemen to be met with.

Contents.—Chapter I. On Yemen and the kings of Sanaa and Aden.

Section 1. On Yemen and its dependencies.—Sec. 2. On the introduction of Islam into Yemen.—Sec. 3. On events after the death of the Prophet.—Sec. 4. On events under the Beni Umiyah.—Sec. 5.—On events under the

Abassiya.—Sec. 6. Of the Karmatians in Yemen and Ali bin Fadil.—Sec. 7. Of the independent princes of Sanaa.—Sec. 8. Of the sway of the Sulehiya.—Sec. 9. Of the kings of Sanaa after the Sulehiya.—Sec. 10. On events under the Zuraiya and the conquest of Aden.

Chapter II. Account of Zebeed.

Section 1. The rise of Zebeed and its possession by the Beni Zeeâd.—Sec. 2. The Abyssinians in Yemen.—Sec. 3. The Wezeers of the Nejash.—Sec. 4. Of Ibn Mehdi and decline of the Abyssinians.—Sec. 5. The dynasty of the Beni Ayoob.—Sec. 6. The Russooliya dynasty. Reign of Sultan Nooruddin Abi el Fatah.—Sec. 7. Of the reign of Sultan Melek el Mozuffer Shemsuddin Eusof.—Sec. 8. Of the reign of Sultan Melek el Ashraf.—Sec. 9. Of the reign of Melek el Moid Hizbur-uddin Daood.—Sec. 10. Of the reign of Melek el Mojahid Seif el Islam.—Sec. 11. Of the reign of Melek el Afthal.—Sec. 12. Of the reign of Melek el Ashraf Ismail.—Sec. 13. Of the reign of Melek el Nasir Ahmed.—Sec. 14. Of the reign of Melek el Mansoor Abdulla.—Sec. 15. Of the reign of Melek el Ashraf Nasir.—Sec. 16. Of the reign of Melek el Tahir Yehia.—Sec. 17. Of the reign of Melek el Ashraf Ismail.—Sec. 18. Of those who succeeded the Âl Ghossan. Reign of Mozuffer Eusof Ibn Mansoor.

Chapter III. The dynasty of the Beni Tahir.

Section 1. Of the reign of Melek el Mojahid Shemsuddin and Melek el Dhâfir Salâh uddin Ammir.—Sec. 2. Of the reign of Melek el Mansoor Tajuddin.—Sec. 3. Of the reign of Sultan Melek el Dhâfir Salâh uddin.

ART. III.—*On the Methods of Disposing of the Dead at Llassa, Thibet, etc.* By CHARLES HORNE, late B.C.S.

In the year 1857 one of the travelling Llamas from Llassa came to Lahoul, in the Kûlû country on the Himalêh, and hearing of the mutiny was afraid to proceed. Major Hay, who was at that place in political employ, engaged this man to draw and describe for him many very interesting ceremonies in use in Llassa, amongst which was the method there employed in disposing of dead bodies. This so exactly confirms the accounts given by Strabo and Cicero, and is, moreover, of itself so curious, that I have transcribed it, with as many passages relating to the subject as readily came to hand; and as the Llama was a very fair draughtsman, I have had facsimiles made of his drawings to illustrate this paper. I will first give the extracts, and then the account of the Llama.

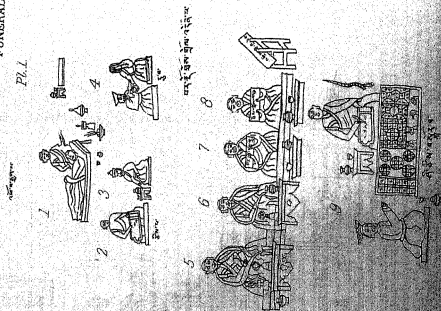
M. Huc, the interesting Jesuit traveller, in his *Travels*, tome ii., p. 347, when at Llassa, alluding to hydrophobia, says (free translation):—"It is only surprising that this horrible complaint does not commit greater ravages when one thinks of the numbers of famished dogs who constantly prowl about the streets of Llassa. These animals are so numerous in this town that the Chinese say, ironically, that the three chief products of the capital of Thibet are Llamas, women, and dogs (Llama-Yatêon-Keon). This astonishing multitude of dogs is caused by the great respect that the Thibetans have for these animals, and the use they make of them for the disposal of their dead. There are four manners of sepulture in Thibet: first, incremation; second, throwing into the rivers or lakes; third, exposure on the summits of mountains; and the fourth, which is the most flattering of all, consists in cutting the dead bodies

FUNERAL RITES.-LASSA.

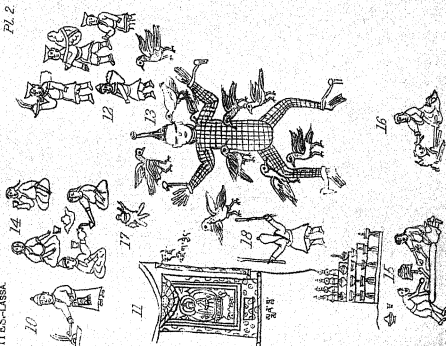


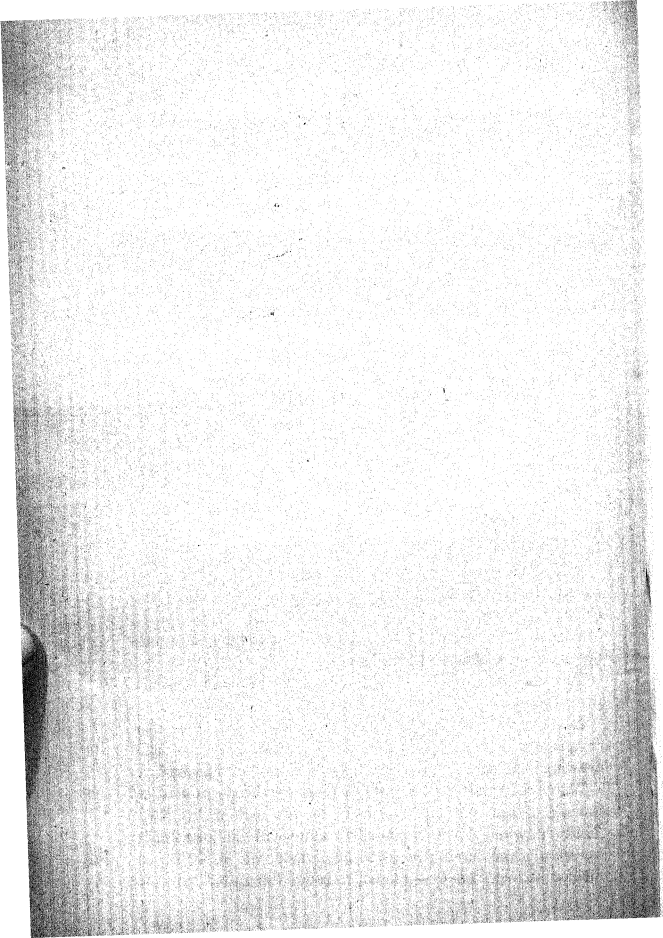
FUNERAL RITES-LASSA.

Pl. 1.



Pl. 2.





in pieces and giving them to the dogs to eat." The last method is the most general. The poor have for their sepulture the dogs of the environs, but for persons of distinction they employ a little more ceremony. There are establishments where they rear and maintain dogs for this sole purpose, and it is to these places that the rich Thibetans take their dead to be disposed of. Strabo, Cicero, and Justin, allude to these practises.

1. STRABO, speaking of the customs of the nomad Scythians as preserved amongst the Soghdians and Bactrians, says:—"In the capital of the Bactrians, they bring up dogs to which they give a particular name, and this name translated into our language would be 'interrers.' These dogs have to devour all those who become feeble from age or illness. Hence it is that the environs of this capital show no tombs; but within the walls many human bones are to be seen. Alexander is said to have abolished this custom."

2. CICERO attributes the same custom to the Hyrcanians when he says: "In Hyrcania plebs publicos alit canes; optimates, domesticos. Nihile autem genus canum illud scimus esse. Sed pro sua quisque facultate parat a quibus lanietur; eamque optimam illi esse censent sepulturam." (*Tuscul. Quæst. lib. i., p. 45.*)

3. JUSTIN says also of the Parthians: "Sepultura vulgi aut avium aut canum laniatus est. Nuda demum ossa terrâ obruunt." (*Note de Klaproth.*)

Herodotus also alludes to the practice; but the above quotations may be held to be sufficient.

Now for the Llama's account, more in detail. The accompanying sketches by the same hand explain these:—

No. 1. *Phôwâ Gyâgpâ*,—*Phôwâ* is the name of the *mantra* or prayer, and *Gyâgpâ* the person repeating it. The drawing represents a man who has died, and by his prayers a Llama had restored the spirit into the belly, and is in the act of drawing out the same by the end of his hair, *Trâtenbâ*, which he is supposed to unite with his own spirit (or *mun*); and having so done, he is held, whilst sitting in meditation with his eyes closed, to cause the united spirit to

pass out at his own head: Triloknâth is supposed to be there seated whilst he (the Llama) is praying, and so the said united spirit enters the body of Triloknâth by the anus, and thus they both are imagined to have become united to, and mingled with, the essence of the Deity.

No. 2 is the *Sipâ*, who comes to consult the dead man's horoscope and future destiny; and to show how the body is to be placed with reference to the point of the compass.

No. 3 is a relation of the deceased consulting the priest.

No. 4, *Gnûvâ* (or weeping), is the brother of the deceased receiving consolation from another, who administers *chang* or spirits, and bids him cheer up.

Nos. 5 and 6. These are two Getongs, called *Gyûnzshûgpâ*, who are supposed to be for two days and nights meditating and praying mentally for the soul of the deceased.

Nos. 7 and 8. *Chêdûnpâ* reading the *Purtô-tî-sôl*. The meaning is this: for four days after death the spirit is supposed to hover near, and to preserve the power of seeing and hearing, and hence it listens to the contents of this book, in which are described the six roads by which to travel to the other world:—

1. A *White* road, or *Karpo*; 2. A *Yellow* road, or *Sirpo*;
3. A *Black* road, or *Nâgpô*; 4. A *Green* road, or *Jûnzû*;
5. A *Red* road, or *Marpo*; 6. A *Blue* road, or *Unpo*.

The readers shout out relative to these roads in substance as follows: These are the six roads. If you go by the *white* road, you will reach the Deotas; but you must not go there. If you try the *yellow* road, you will be reborn on this earth; don't go by that road, because this re-birth on earth will be eternally repeated. If you go by the *black* road, you will reach *Niruk*, or hell; don't go there, because it will involve endless pain and torment. Don't go by the *green* road, which leads through *Lamayin*, i.e. the sky below Indra's paradise, where they are always at war one with another. Don't go by the *red* road, because there you will meet with the *Idâk*, or evil spirits, who have large heads, very small necks, and very empty bellies, which are never satisfied. Don't go by the *blue* road, because there are the animals

Timód, who alone have power, and you will be devoured. But look up towards heaven, and you will see, as in a glass flickering, a *red and yellow* road, shining like lightning. On seeing it you will be greatly afraid, but never fear, and travel by that road, and you will be sure to reach *Llama Kānchók*, or God, and you will enter into the Deity. If you cannot by any possibility get by that road, then go by the *white* road!! You are now become like air; you can't remain in this world; so be off!!

No. 9, *Sipa*, or Llama, consulting his book to see how the corpse is to be disposed of. If burnt, how the face is to be turned. The horn is that of the *Sûrû* or *Isôtio*, which he takes in his hand to drive away evil spirits.

No. 10, *Sûrukâpâ*, burns incense.

No. 11, *Ro*, or a corpse. It is tied by a rope to the top of the room in a corner, and seated on an iron frame or stool, when the impurities are supposed to empty themselves below into a pan placed for the purpose. A cloth is placed over the head to conceal the face, and a *pardah*, or screen of cloth, is placed before the body, on which is affixed a picture of *Sangyé Mulla*, or *Doojêh Zhigrit*, a deity of the *Gelukpas*.¹

Before the corpse on the ground is placed a little *suttoo* (fine flour), and some water. In this plate the knees only of the corpse are shown, the rest must be supposed.

No. 12 represents a man carrying off the corpse packed up in a portable shape, as also others with necessities. The class of men who perform this work are called *Togdun*.

No. 13. The corpse at this place, *Tûtôt*, is pegged out to five wooden pins. Then it is scored all over with a knife, and the men retire to a short distance and sit down and drink *chang*, or spirits, as shown in No. 14. The vultures meanwhile tear the flesh from the body, which does not take long, in consequence of the numbers always frequenting these spots. When the men return they find only the skeleton. They then take the bones to No. 15, where they pound them

¹ This Llama would appear to have belonged to the *Gelukpa*, or yellow sect, and his description applies more particularly to the customs of that sect of Buddhists, which is well represented at Llassa. The word means *virtuous*.

up with stones and hammers, after which they are thrown to the vultures. No dogs are allowed here, and the place is called *Chátór*, from *Chá*, "a bird."

No. 16 is a man singeing the hair off the head, a portion of the skull of which is preserved and afterwards pounded up, mixed with earth, and formed into small shapes with figures of Triloknâth or Sakya stamped upon them, or moulded into small *Chortens* or Dagobas.

No. 17 shows us the *Tôgduns* drinking tea after their work is ended.

No. 18 represents a man driving off the vultures, *Chagót*, to prevent them devouring the corpse until it shall first have been properly scored all over.

Plate No. 3 represents a place in Llassa called *Râgyûp-dûtód*. *Ra* means "a horn"; *Gyup*, "behind"; *Dutod*, "Golgotha."

Here are five stones fixed in the ground, to which the corpse is tied, and three men, *Tôgdun*, are cutting up the body and bones, all of which are given to the dogs. This mode of disposal of the dead is called *Ki-chün* (*Ki* is a dog). Very many dogs always remain at this place. The hammers and axes are for breaking up the skeleton. The man on the right supplies the operators with *chang* or spirits.

No. 18 represents the house which is called *Râgyuptôgdun*, and is built of horns and inhabited by the *Tôgdun*. There are a hundred of such houses in the suburbs of Llassa, besides two hundred inhabited by the butchers (*Shêva*) constructed in a similar manner.

All these people beg and collect much money, chiefly from the relations of the dead, by whom they are well paid.

They are said to be insolent in their demands, and if anyone gives them half a *tunka* (or small piece of money), they spit upon it and throw it away, saying, "If you are not ashamed to give so little, I am ashamed to receive it."

No. 19 is the parapet of the *Râkatchûmi* or well.

No. 20 is a *Chânochûp chorten*, with a figure of Triloknath, supposed to have appeared there miraculously without mortal assistance.

No. 21, or *Purkung* (*Pär* being applied to the corpse of a superior and *Ro* to that of an inferior; *Khung* signifies a house), shows the method in which the higher people of Llassa are burnt. A building is first erected, with a hollow in the centre, into which the body is placed in an upright position. The face is covered with red silk, and the wood used to burn the body is *Shukpa*, or pencil cedar (*Juniperus excelsa*), and frankincense. The attending Llama is shown feeding the flames with *ghee* or clarified butter.

No. 22 shows two Llamas, who are offering up prayers and the *hón* of sacrifice by fire, and are dressed the same as the deceased. They have in their hands the *dril-bu* or sacred bell.

No. 23. These *choptahs*, or vessels of green sugar, etc., are burnt with the body.

When, however, a man of high rank dies from smallpox, he is not burnt, but buried, and a tomb, as shown in No. 24 (*Púltun*), built of stone, is erected over the spot.

Should the sufferer from the same complaint have been of inferior rank, a small heap of stones only is made over his grave, as shown in No. 25.

No. 26, *Rogum* or *Rokum* (*Gum* means a coffin), represents a Chinaman's body as laid in his coffin, with silver, gold, sugar, rice, etc. This coffin is then placed in a tomb, No. 27, called *Gyamirókung*, the place assigned for the burial being *Tubchitung*, two miles outside Llassa.

No. 28 shows a chief mourner, dressed in white, which is the colour of Chinese mourning. The other relations are not always clad in mourning, but all put on a linen or cotton turban, setting their ordinary caps on one side, which, however, all except the chief mourner resume when leaving the tomb.

No. 29 is the *Washung* or Chinese priest.

No. 30 are *Shókpá*, or fireworks, which are lighted and fired three times, when the mourners prostrate themselves nine times.

After seven days have elapsed, they again visit the tomb, when the same ceremony is performed.

At No. 31 are represented dishes of sweetmeats, of which, after the fireworks and the nine prostrations, the mourners partake, and then return to their homes.

No. 32 shows *Tchûchintôrma*, a ceremony in which in one basin are placed little bits of flour paste rolled up, called *torma*; and in another water (*tchû*), with which these little pieces of paste are put. *Chin*, "offering," completes the work.

The Llama is supposed to be offering these to the *Idâk*, or bad spirits aforementioned as inhabiting the place mentioned in Red Road No. 5. These *Idâk* have, as aforesaid, large heads, small necks, and large bellies never to be satisfied.

In Sanskrit the word *Idâk* is called *Prêtâ*, which means a departed soul, spirit of the dead, ghost, or evil spirit.

So far the Llama describes the different methods of the disposal of dead bodies in Llassa as observed by the Thibetans and Chinese.

There is, however, one other method of preserving the dead bodies of their highest Llamas.

The first process is to cover up the body in salt, which dissolves and becomes absorbed in the flesh; this process is repeated two or three times. When a sufficient quantity has been absorbed to preserve the body, it is taken out, the limbs relaxed, and the body placed in a sitting attitude and clothed; the hands having been placed in a position called *Chîn Chut*. When the muscles of the face relax and the skin shrivels, wax is put in to fill up the cheeks to the natural size, and the body is preserved in a *chorten* as a mummy which can be seen at any time.

Note by Major Hay.—"No man can fail to remark how similar the altar is to that shown on the reverse of many Sassanian coins. It is probable their custom of burning the bodies of their kings was the same, and the attendants seem even to have the same kind of cap. The ancient Persians, according to Herodotus and Strabo, exposed their dead to be devoured by vultures. It should, however, be remarked that the bodies of the *old* monarchs of Persia were interred, not burnt, which would have been contrary to the laws of

Zoroaster, as tending to desecrate the sacred element—fire; nor were they previously exposed to be devoured by animals, as was prescribed by the precept of the Magi, with whom the dog was a sacred animal.”

In continuation of the above, as the subject is one of interest, I subjoin a few extracts from Rollin's *Ancient History*, and other sources relative to the subject.

The ancient Persians, we are told by Herodotus, did not erect funeral piles for the dead or consume their bodies in the flames. “Accordingly we find that Cyrus,¹ when he was at the point of death, took care to charge his children to inter his body and to restore it to the earth; that is the expression he makes use of: by which he seems to declare, that he looked upon the earth as the original parent from whence he sprang, to which he ought to return. And when Cambyses had offered a thousand indignities to the dead body of Amasis,² king of Egypt, he thought he crowned all by causing it to be burnt, which was equally contrary to the Egyptian and Persian manner of treating their dead. It was the custom of the latter to wrap up their dead in wax, in order to keep them longer from corruption.”

Cicero says, *Tuscul. Quest.*, lib. i., p. 108 :

“Condiunt Egyptii mortuos, et eos domi servant: Persæ jam cerâ circumlitos condiunt, ut quam maxime permaneant diuturna corpora.”

Major Hay, in his report on the Spiti Valley, written in 1850, tells us that incremation is the ordinary method of disposing of the dead in Spiti. Their ashes are thrown into the nearest running stream, the spot where the body was burnt plastered over with cowdung, and an urn put up.

I have repeatedly seen these urns in Kurnawur, and always supposed them to contain the ashes, and I was informed that such was the case. Those dying of smallpox were not burned, but buried; and I have also seen the heaps of stones which had been placed over the grave, but curiously enough during the months that I was in the country I never witnessed a funeral or incremation.

¹ Cyrop., l. viii., p. 238.

² Herod., l. iii., c. 16.

ART. IV.—*The Brhat-Saṁhitā; or, Complete System of Natural Astrology of Varāha-mihira.* Translated from Sanskrit into English by Dr. H. KERN.

[Continued from Vol. V., p. 288.]

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The Phenomenon termed an Aerial City (Fata Morgana).

1. An aerial city in the north is detrimental to the court priest; one in the east, is so to the sovereign; one in the south, to the commander of the troops; one in the west, to the prince royal. A white one is pernicious to Brahmans, a crimson one to Kshatriyas, a yellow one to Vaiçyas, and a dusky one to Çûdras.

2. The same phenomenon, if visible to the northward, brings victory to such kings as stay in their residences; if it is seen in any intermediate quarter, it tends to the destruction of individuals of the mixed classes. When an aerial city, along with triumphal arches, appears in a tranquil quarter, it forebodes triumph to the king.

3. On arising, in all quarters and at all times, the phenomenon brings danger to king and people. When it resembles smoke, fire, or a rainbow, it will kill thieves and foresters.

4. An aerial city of faded colour brings wind and thunder; a glowing one causes the death of the monarch; one seen on the left augurs danger from the enemy, but one on the right brings victory.

5. When a vari-coloured aerial city makes its appearance with streamers, standards, and gateways, then the earth is soon to swallow abundantly, on the battle-field, the blood of elephants, horses, and men.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Mock Suns.

1. A mock sun, if sleek and showing the hue appropriate to the sun in the season in which it appears, is held auspicious;

it brings peace and prosperity by being very bright, and beryl-coloured or white.

2. A yellow one causes sickness, and one red, like an Açoka-blossom, announces the raging of the sword. A row of mock suns betokens danger from robbers, and is mortal to the sovereign.¹

3. A mock sun, when standing north of the sun, gives rain; when south, wind; when on both sides, there is peril of inundation; when it is seen above, it is pernicious to the sovereign; when beneath, to the people.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.²

Haze.

1. They say that the death of the king is augured by a haze appearing like a heap of thick darkness, when all quarters are so shrouded that hills, towns, and trees, are not discernible.

2. In the same quarter where a mass of vapour first arises or vanishes, danger is undoubtedly approaching in a week.

3. By a white mass of hazy clouds, the ministers and country people are to suffer; before long the sword will rage and success be much impeded.

4. If at sunrise a haze arises, covering as it were the whole canopy for one or two days, it presages awful danger.

5. Dimness uninterruptedly thickening during one night, destroys the principal monarch, but is conducive to the safety of sage rulers.

6. In the kingdom where a thick mass of gloom is spreading for a couple of nights, one may foretell an invasion from hostile forces.

7. A dimness descending and staying for three or four

¹ In the compound *dasubhayāt tankanypahantrī* a word like *da*, *kara* is omitted by the poet.

² This chapter is wanting in the MSS. of the commentary, and betrays a style different from our author's.

nights, blights food and fluids; when it lasts for five nights, there is to be a mutiny amongst the royal troops.

8. When dimness arises, apart from the appearance of comets and the like, it produces horrible danger. Its effects are, as the masters of the science declare, unimpaired in any season but autumn.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Typhoons.

1. When a wind clashing with another wind is struck down from the air to the earth, then a typhoon is produced. It is ill-boding if accompanied by the cries of vexed birds.

2. At sunrise it will injure judges, kings, wealthy men, soldiers, wives, merchants, and courtesans; in the morning (from six to nine o'clock) it is mischievous to goats and sheep, Çâdras and burgesses.

3. At the time (from nine o'clock) till noon it will affect royal attendants and Brahmans; in the third part of the day (from noon till three o'clock), it will be bad for Vaiçyas and rain-clouds, and in the fourth part for thieves.

4. Just after sunset it destroys the outcasts; in the first watch of night it ruins the grains; in the second watch it vexes the hosts of imps.

5. It will oppress horses and elephants in the third watch, and princes on the march in the fourth. It destroys the region to which it is tending, with a terrific, hollow noise.

CHAPTER XL.

Prognostics for the Growth of Crops.

1. Here are described which constellations on the Sun's entering Scorpio and Taurus are favourable, or the reverse, to the growth of autumnal and summer corn, according to the statements of Bâdarâyana.

2. The summer corn thrives, if, on the Sun's entering Scorpio, the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth house are occu-

pied by benign planets,¹ or if he is looked at by the benign planets when in their power.²

3. If the Sun stands in Scorpio, Jupiter in Aquarius, and the Moon in Leo, or Jupiter in Leo and the Moon in Aquarius, the summer corn will prosper.

4. If Venus or Mercury, or both, are stationed in the second house from the Sun, or in the twelfth, the corn will thrive, and exceedingly so should the constellation be favoured by the aspect of Jupiter.³

5. If the Sun, being in Scorpio, stands between Mercury and Venus, while Jupiter and the Moon are in the seventh house from the Sun, the harvest will be most excellent. When the Sun stands in the first part of Scorpio, and Jupiter in the second, one must expect a half crop.

6. By Venus, the Moon and Mercury occupying the eleventh, fourth, and second house, the Sun being in Scorpio, the grains will prosper uncommonly, and so too will the cows should Jupiter at the same conjuncture occupy the tenth house.

7. Jupiter in Aquarius, the Moon in Taurus, the Sun in the beginning of Scorpio, Mars and Saturn in Capricorn, form a constellation that promises a rich harvest, but afterwards danger from hostile invasions.

8. The Sun, by standing in Scorpio, between two evil planets, makes the corn perish; a malign planet in the seventh house ruins it while sprouting.⁴

9. An evil planet occupying the second house, if not

¹ i.e., Mercury, Jupiter, and Venus.

² The parallel passage in Bādarāyaṇa has:

वृश्चिकसंस्थे सूर्ये सौम्यैर्बलवद्भिर्निरीक्षिते वृद्धिम् ।
तैरेव केन्द्रगैर्वा ग्रीष्मजधान्यस्य निर्दिशेन्नहतीम् ॥

³ Bādarāyaṇa:

सूर्याद्बुधे द्वितीये शुक्ले वा तत्र युगपदेव तयोः ।
रिप्पगयोरप्येवं निष्पत्तिर्गुरुदृशातीव ॥

⁴ Bādarāyaṇa:

क्रूरान्तःस्थः सूर्यो वृश्चिकसंस्थो विनाशयति सस्यम् ।
जातंजातं पापः सप्तमसंस्थोऽपि नाशयति ॥

looked at by good planets, spoils the first growth, but is decidedly favourable to the corn sown afterwards.

10. Two malign planets, if stationed in the seventh, tenth, fourth, or first house from the Sun, in Scorpio, make the crops miscarry, but not everywhere, so that the planetary aspects be not adverse.¹

11. When two evil planets are standing in the seventh and sixth houses from the Sun in Scorpio, then one may expect a good harvest and a lowering of prices.

12. In like manner the learned astrologer must determine whether the Sun on entering Taurus is to be pernicious or favourable to the grains that shoot out in autumn.

13. If the Sun, when moving in Aries, Taurus, or Gemini, is in conjunction with benign planets, or in their aspect, the result is that the summer corn gets cheap² and is consumed in peace.

14. The Sun has the same effect upon the autumnal corn, if he stands in Sagittarius, Capricorn, or Aquarius at the period of collecting. The reverse will take place if he is in the aspect of, or in conjunction with, malign planets.

CHAPTER XLI.

Classification of Natural Products.

1. To the domain of the sundry asterisms of the ecliptic, the Seers have assigned several natural products, for the prognostication of good or ill. I shall enumerate them according to traditional and authoritative lore.

2. To Aries are said to belong : cloth, sheep's wool, goat's

¹ Bādarāyaṇa :

सूर्यात्सप्तमसंख्यः पापो न्यः केन्द्रगश्च हानिकरौ ।

सौम्यग्रहसन्दृष्टौ न तथा सर्वत्र निर्दिष्टौ ।

² Not समर्थ, as the printed text has it, but समर्घ is the true reading ; cf. ch. xli. 12. The same word occurs in a passage from some Smṛti quoted by Nīlakaṇṭha in Mahābhārata, xiii. 23, 21 (Bombay ed.) :

समर्घं धान्यमादाय महार्घं यः प्रयच्छति ।

स वै वार्धुषिको नाम ह्यव्यक्त्यवहिष्कृतः ॥

hair, lentils, wheat, resin, barley, weeds growing on land, and gold.

3. To Taurus are referred, cloth, flowers, wheat, rice, barley, buffaloes, and bullocks ; to Gemini, corn, whatever grows up in autumn, creepers, esculent bulbs of water-lilies, and cotton.

4. To Cancer belong, paspalum, plantains, dūb-grass, fruits, roots, leaves, and cocoa-nuts ; to Leo, grain in husks, essences, skins of lions, etc., and sugar.

5. To Virgo pertain, flax, awnless barley,¹ dolichos, wheat, kidney-beans and grain in pods ;² to Libra, peas, wheat, white mustard seed and barley.

6. Under Scorpio are brought, sugar-cane, whatever grows through being watered, iron, goats and sheep ; under Sagittarius, horses, salt, cloth, missiles, sesamum, grain, and roots.

7. To Capricorn belong, trees, shrubs, whatever grows through being watered, sugar-cane, gold and black iron ; to Aquarius, aquatic products, fruits, flowers, jewels, and brilliant things.

8. Under Pisces are, such jewels as come from testaceous animals,³ aquatic products, diamonds, various oils, and whatever comes from fishes.

9. By standing in the fourth, tenth, second, eleventh, seventh, ninth, or fifth house, from the particular asterism (to which any product belongs), Jupiter promotes the increase of the products ; so does Mercury by standing in the second, eleventh, tenth, fifth, or eighth house.

10. The planet Venus causes loss in the sixth or seventh house, but increase in the rest. The malign planets are favourable, if stationed in the Houses of Increase,⁴ but inflict loss if standing in other places.

¹ The meaning is doubtful ; the Comm. only says that *kalāya* is a *sasyam* ; at any rate it must be something different from *kulattha*.

² About *nishpāva* the Comm. remarks : अनुप्राणि यानि पुनर्जायन्ते निष्पावाश्च शालयः । इति केचित् । शिम्बिधान्यमिति केचित् ॥

³ e.g. from the pearl oyster.

⁴ i.e. the third, sixth, tenth and eleventh.

11. If the evil planets in their power stand at evil distances from any asterism, the articles assigned to such an asterism will become dear and scarce.

12. The benign planets in their power, by occupying a good place with respect to any asterism, have the effect of making the products belonging to such an asterism cheap and abundant.¹

13. A sign in the aspect of good planets in their power produces no evil, even if the houses occupied are unfavourable. The reverse applies to the aspect of malign planets.

CHAPTER XLII.

Prognostics for the Rising or Lowering of Prices.

1, 2. A change in the prices may be foretold on observing uncommon rainfall, meteors, an airy staff, halo, eclipse, mock sun or moon, and such like phenomena at new or full moon, and at the Sun's entrance into a new sign, every month. As to uncommon phenomena on any other day of the month, those have a tendency to make monarchs suffer from frays.

3. (If any of the aforesaid phenomena is seen) when the Sun has reached Aries, one should purchase summer corn; and when the sun stands in Taurus, buy wild roots and fruits. Then one shall gain (in selling those articles) in the fourth month following.

4. If one makes a store of all sorts of flavours and grain during the Sun's stay in Gemini, he shall in selling them in the sixth month after have an enormous gain.

5. By laying up honey, perfumes, oil, ghee, and syrup, at the time of the Sun's stay in Cancer, one will get twice the prime cost in the second month; but by selling before or after that period, one will sustain loss.

6. When the Sun is in Leo, one should buy gold, jewels, skins, bark, weapons, pearls, and silver. If one sells them in the fifth month, there will be profit, but otherwise loss.

¹ सामर्थ्यम् instead of सामर्थ्यम्; cf. ch. xl. 13.

7. The buyer of chowries, donkeys, camels, and horses, when the Sun has reached Virgo, shall gain double if he sell in the sixth month afterwards.

8. When the Sun is in Libra, let one purchase woven articles, jewels, woollen cloths, glass, yellow flowers, and corn; these will, in six months, fetch double their price.

9. Fruits, bulbs, roots, and various gems, taken in when the Sun stands in Scorpio, and laid up for two years, yield a profit equal to double the prime cost.

10. Let one buy saffron, conch shells, coral, glass, and pearls, when the Sun is in Sagittarius; six months after those articles will fetch double prices.

11. He who is anxious to gain must purchase iron wares and corn when the Sun occupies Capricorn and Aquarius, and sell a month after; he then gets double their prime cost.

12. By storing roots, fruits, bulbs, vessels, and jewels, when the Sun has reached Pisces, for half a year, one shall obtain a handsome profit.

13. These profits in reference to each sign of the ecliptic are only promised in case the Sun or Moon is in conjunction with a friendly planet, and in the aspect of such a one as is befriended for the time being.

14. The Moon, by being in conjunction with the Sun, or, when full, in conjunction with, or looked at, by benign planets, instantly causes a rising of prices. Both she and the Sun, however, spoil the prices, if both are in conjunction with, or in aspect of, evil planets. In this way one has to tell the good or evil effects, after ascertaining which substances are assigned to each house.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Festivity of Raising Indra's Banner.

1. The immortals said unto the Creator: "O Lord! we are unable to resist in battle the children of darkness. Hence we approach Thee, the resource of those who are in need."

2. The Lord said to the gods: "In the Milk-sea is Keçava;

He will give you the ensign, at the sight of which the demons shall not withstand you in the struggle."

3, 4. On obtaining this boon, the gods with Indra went to the Milk-sea, and praised Him who is marked by the Çrīvatsa, whose breast is beaming with the rays of the Kaustubha gem, Him the Lord of Çrî, the incomprehensible and incomparable one, the life essence of all living beings, Vishṇu, the highest soul, who is without beginning, and to whom no limit is known.

5. Then, satisfied by their praises, the divine Nārāyaṇa gave them the ensign that shall prove for the faces of the brides of the demons such as the Moon is for the day blowing lotus, but for the countenances of the goddesses, such as the Sun is for the same flowers.

6. Indra gladdened at receiving the ensign produced from Vishṇu's lustre, which was carried on an eight-wheeled fulgent chariot, resplendent with gems, as if it were the Sun beaming forth in autumn.¹

7. By raising that standard, adorned with many tinkling objects, garlands, umbrellas, bells and trinkets, the king of the gods annihilated in battle the host of the enemy.

8. The king of the gods granted the bambu flagstaff to Vasu the sky-traveller, lord of Cedi, and that monarch treated the gift with due respect.²

9, 10. Satisfied by that festive demonstration, the ruler of heaven declared: "Those kings who will act in the same manner shall be rich like Vasu, and see their behests obeyed on earth. Their people will be contented, free from peril and sickness, and have abundance of food. The ensign is

¹ The general import of the myth appears to be, that the Sun, the source of light (Vishṇu) bestows on heaven (Indra) his own *ketu* (i.e. ensign and first gleam of day), before which the spirits of darkness must needs vanish. The festival described in this chapter, like many other feasts at certain seasons, may be called a natural myth rendered plastic, dramatized. The eight-wheeled chariot is the day divided into eight *yāmas*.

² The same myth is told in Mahābhārata i. 63, 15, *seqq.* (Bombay ed.).

also to bode through foretokens what good or evil consequences await mankind."

11. Now am I going to propound, according to authoritative traditional lore, how in the days of yore monarchs wishing for victory and increase of power have honoured that standard by Indra's command.

12. The precept is as follows:—The astrologer and master-carpenter go to the wood at a lucky Karṇa,¹ day, asterism, and at an auspicious hour, when all augurs well for the journey.

13, 14. Trees not fit as material for Indra's standard are such as grow in public gardens, temple yards, cemeteries, ant-hills, roads, and hallowed spots; or such as are stunted, sear at the top, spinous trees, those entwined by creepers and parasitic plants, or covered with numerous birds' nests and holes, or hurt by fire and wind, and such as bear feminine appellations.

15, 16. The fittest trees are *Terminalia Arjuna*, *Vatica robusta*, *Terminalia tomentosa*, *Grislea tomentosa*,² and glomerated fig-tree. In taking one out of these five or some other estimated timber tree growing on white or black soil, the Brahman divine has first in due form to pay his respects to the tree, and after approaching it on a lonely spot at night time, touch it and recite the following spell:

17. "Hail to all beings living in this tree! Reverence to ye! May you change your abode after taking this oblation:

18. "Hail to thee, O pre-eminent tree! The king chooses thee for the standard of the king of the gods: accept thou this homage!"

19. On the next morning the carpenter has to hew the tree, with his face turned towards the north or east. A hollow sound of the felling axe is not auspicious, but a soft and full tone favourable.

¹ cf. ch. 99, 6.

² The r. *dhava* of the printed text is as doubtful as its rendering; the Comm. has *vadhā*, certainly the word from which *bādhaka*, explained as *rājavykṣha* and *girimāla* (see Böhtl. and Roth, Dict. i. v. *bādhaka*), is derived.

20. If the tree falls to the eastward or northward, unimpaired, not crooked, and without getting entangled in another tree, it bodes victory to the sovereign ; should the tree come down under the contrary circumstances, it must be left alone.

21. After chopping off four digits from the top, and eight from the bottom, one must throw the trunk into water ; and then, after it has been taken out again, have it transported to the town gate by means of a cart, or carried by men.

22. If one of the spokes gives way, there will be bickerings in the army ; if it is the periphery that breaks, you may be sure that the army will be destroyed. Rupture of the axle presages loss of wealth, and of the axle-pins bodes ruin to the carpenter.

23, 24. On the eighth day of the bright half of Bhâdrapada should the king, surrounded by citizens, with the astrologers, ministers, chamberlains, and Brahmans foremost among them, all in festive dress, order the standard of Indra to be carried by citizens into the town, amidst the sounds of horns and musical instruments, while the staff is covered with new cloth, and enveloped in garlands, perfumes, and incense.

25, 26. Gaudy streamers, triumphal arches, and festoons of wild flowers adorn the town where the inhabitants are over-merry ; where the streets are cleaned and trimmed, crowded with handsomely-attired courtesans ; where the shops are trimmed up, the squares crowded with mimics, dancers, and singers ; where many festive and solemn shouts are heard.

27. White streamers foreshow triumph, but yellow ones sickness ; vari-coloured ones bring victory, whereas red ones presage the raging of the sword.

28. If the staff in entering the town is subverted by elephants or other animals, danger is impending. A sound of boys clapping hands or a fight between animals (on that occasion) augurs war.

29. Thereon (when the beam has safely arrived in town) must the carpenter plane it, and then raise it on a machine according to the rules. The king now orders a vigil to be

kept with it, on the eleventh (of the bright half of Bhādrapada).

30. The court priest, clad in white and wearing a white turban, makes a sacrifice to the Fire with hymns to Indra and Viṣṇu, whilst the astrologer has to observe the symptoms.

31. A blazing fire, ardent, smooth, compact, having the shape of auspicious things, brings blessings; one showing different qualities is evil. This subject has been more amply treated in the Yātra.¹

32. A fire that at the final benediction blazes forth of itself, and with soft lustre turns its flame to the right, renders all earth subject to the monarch, she whose girdle is the ocean and whose lovely necklace is the glittering stream of the Ganges and Jamnā.

33. When the fire shows the hue of gold, Aśoka blossom, yellow Barleria, lotus, beryl stone or blue lotus, then shall darkness, expelled by the rays, find no room in the royal house.

34. Those (princes) to whom fire emits a noise like that of a multitude of chariots, like the sea, clouds, elephants, or battle-drums, shall in their march cause the regions to be darkened and shaken by the troops of their infuriated elephants.

35. Whenever fire assumes the shape of a banner, jar, horse, elephant, or hill, earth (in all her extension, so as to have) the mountains of sunrise and sunset for lips, and the Himālaya and Vindhya for breasts, comes under the sway of (such) kings (for whom the sacrificial fire shows those symptoms).

36. If fire has the scent of the elephant's frontal juice, of oil, lotus, fried grains, ghee, or honey, earth is to be like a mosaic formed by the rays issuing from the crown jewels of prostrate potentates.

37. These good or evil omens which arise from the fire at (the festival of) Indra's banner, are likewise to be observed

¹ Yogayātrā, ch. viii.

at the casting of horoscopes, at sacrifices, propitiating oblations to the planets, at the periods of marching and wedding.

38. When the priests have been honoured with sugar, cakes, milk porridge, etc., and with guerdons, the ensign of Indra should be raised on the twelfth, whether the asterism of the date be Çravaṇa or another.

39, 40. Manu has laid down the rule, that there are seven or five smaller flagstaves to be wrought by skilled artisans and called "Indra's daughters." The two named Nandā and Upanandā measure three-quarters of the height (of the great standard), Jayā and Vijayā, and two others, both termed Vasundharā, are taller by a sixteenth. Higher by an eighth than all these is "Indra's mother," in the middle.

41. The various trinkets with which the immortals once joyfully decorated the divine banner, ought to be put on in due order.

42. The first ornament, being of quadrangular shape, and of the hue of red Aḡoka blossom, was given by Viçvakarman. Brahma and Çiva gave a vari-coloured girdle.¹

43. The third ornament, octangular and dark red, was granted by Indra. Yama bestowed the fourth gift, a dark, yet lustrous, pillow.²

44. The fifth gift from Varuṇa, was a sexangular, madder-hued, and resembling waving water; the sixth, from the god of air, was an armlet made of peacock's feathers, and dark as a cloud.

45. Skanda contributed for the banner his own motley arm ring,³ being the seventh gift. The eighth ornament, given by the god of Fire, bore likeness to a fire flame.

¹ The first ornament seems to signify the first streak of red at dawn; the girdle belonging to Brahma, in his quality as Prajāpati and *samvatsara*, and to Çiva, in his quality as Time, is a symbol of the circle of Time.

² The gift of Indra is, apparently, a symbol of the day divided into eight watches; Yama's is a symbol of rest, and at the same time something lustrous, because Yama is the lord of the dead and the genius of evening twilight.

³ Skanda, the "marching" god, and therefore called the Wargod, is

46. The Moon presented, ninthly, a collar hued like beryl-stone.¹ The Sun in his quality of Maker (of the phenomenal world) bestowed a tenth gift, an ornament resplendent and similar to a chariot's wheel.

47. The Viṣve Devas contributed the eleventh ornament, called Udvāṇa,² and lotus coloured. The Seers gave the twelfth, termed Nivāṇa, and showing the tinge of the blue lotus.

48. The planets Jupiter and Hesperus offered as their share to the standard the thirteenth ornament, something projecting at the upper and lower ends, largest at the top, and coloured like red lac.

49. These decorations to the banner are, each of them, consecrated to the divine being by whom they were produced, which the wise will do well to observe.

50. The circumference of the first trinket is a third of the extension of the banner. The dimensions of each of the following must be lessened by an eighth.

51. On the fourth day next, a skilled person must equip Indra's standard, and the king³ devoutly recite the following prayers which Manu has handed down from tradition.

52, 53. "Even as thou, O source of vigour, hast been honoured with manifold sublime ornaments by Īṣva, the Sun, Yama, Indra, the Moon, Kubera, Agni, Varuṇa, the hosts of great Seers, the goddesses of the quarters, the Nymphs, Hesperus, Jupiter, Skanda, and the host of Winds, so mayest thou now, O God, graciously accept these beautiful ornaments."

54. "Thou art the unborn, imperishable, eternal, unchangeable One; thou the all-fertilizing Viṣṇu, the the personification of the year in its course; hence his token is a ring, a circle.

¹ A symbol of the cluster of asterisms, of course. The colour *vaidūrya* is, according to Utpala, "deep yellow," *nīlapītākānti*.

² The Comm. gives no satisfactory explanation of the terms *udvāṇa* and *nivāṇa*; he only says, *udvāṇaṇāmāmbharapam* and *nivāṇaṇām nīma*.

³ That the king himself has to recite the prayers is not only stated by the Comm., but is also manifest from st. 56.

primitive soul; thou art Death, the all-destroying Fire; adorable art thou, with a thousand heads and a hundred moods!"

55. "I invoke the seven-tongued Seer, who will save us; I invoke Indra, who will protect us, the ruler of the gods, the mighty, well armed killer of Vṛtra. May our warriors be victorious!"

56. The king should, without breaking his fast, recite these auspicious verses when Indra's standard is being decorated, raised, brought into town, cleaned, crowned with garlands, and when it is being removed.

57, 58. The ensign of Indra must be adorned with an umbrella, streamer, mirror, fruits,¹ crescents, variegated garlands, stems of plantain and sugar-cane, with trinkets, figures of snakes and lions, loopholes and images of the guardian gods of the quarters. Then should it be raised, fastened with unimpaired ropes and props made from strong wood, together with the smaller standards styled "Indra's daughters," these also made of strong wood, and unbroken. The triumphal arch is secured at the bottom by tightly fitting mechanisms and pins.

59. The unceasing shouts of the crowd, along with festive cries, benedictions, and salutations; the piercing sounds of war-drums, tabors, horns, kettle-drums and other instruments must accompany the raising of the standard, all inauspicious sounds² being hushed, as Brahmans incessantly recite texts prescribed in the Scriptures.

60. The sovereign should (if necessary) order the citizens having fruits, curds, ghee, fried grains, wax, and flowers in their hands, while bowing their heads and shouting praises, to keep Indra's standard with the point directed against the residence of the foe as if threatening death to him.

¹ The v. r. has *hala*, "plough."

² The compound *aṣubharahitaṣabdam* here denotes "without inauspicious sounds," and not, as it grammatically does, "with sounds free from evil omens." Grammar has been sacrificed to the exigencies of prosody; cf. ch. xix. 17 (trans.). The correct form of the compound would be *aṣubhaṣabdarahitam*.

61. The raising is lucky, if it is proceeding neither too hastily nor too slowly, steadily, without damage to the garlands, trinkets, and other decorations. If otherwise, it is an evil omen, which the court priest should assuage through expiatory rites.

62. If carrion birds, owls, doves, crows, and herons perch on the banner, it is asserted that great peril awaits the sovereign; and if a blue jay perches on it, the prince royal is threatened. A hawk alighting on it forebodes danger to eyesight.

63. The breaking or falling of the umbrella gives rise to the king's death; marks of honey clinging to the standard presage robbery; a meteor (coming down on it) destroys the monarch, and a thunderstroke the queen.

64. The fall of a pennant has for its effect the loss of the queen; the coming down of a trinket produces drought. The flagstaff snapping asunder in the middle, at the top or the bottom, destroys the ministers, the king, or citizens (successively).

65. Danger from fire is foreboded by smoke; obscuration of mind by darkness; the ministers are undone when snake images are breaking or drop. In consequence of portents (seen) to the northward (of the banner), Brahmans are afflicted; by such as are seen to the eastward, Kshatriyas, and so forth. The death of courtesans is announced by one of the smaller staffs, termed Indra's daughters, breaking.

66. If a rope gets loose or snaps asunder, children will suffer; if a prop does, the king's mother comes to grief. Whatever unseemly or decent should be acted by children or histrions, will have results corresponding with it.

67. When the erected standard of Indra has been worshipped during four days, the king must, for the weal of his army, in company with his ministers, with all reverence cause it to be removed.

68. A prince who respects this institution, first established by Vasu, the sky-traveller, and always since observed by other rulers, may feel certain that no danger from enemies shall befall him.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Lustration Ceremony.

1. A lustration of horses, elephants, and troops ought to be performed at the season when our Lord Viṣṇu, whose eye-lashes are the rain-clouds, and whose eyes are Sun and Moon, awakes from his slumber.

2. The expiatory ceremony termed lustration is to take place on the eighth, twelfth, or fifteenth of the bright half of Kārttika or Āṣvayuja.

3, 4. There must be constructed on an approved spot, northeastward of the town, a triumphal arch of excellent wood, sixteen cubits in height, and ten cubits in extent; besides a lodge where the expiatory rites are to be performed, made of branches of *Shorea robusta*, glomerated fig-tree or *Terminalia Arjuna*, and thickly strewn with holy grass, its door adorned with bambu fish figures, pennons, and quoits.

5. When the horses are brought into the lodge, they should have attached to their necks, by means of an amulet string, marking nuts, rice, costus, and white mustard seed, for the sake of their thriving.

6. The priest performs in the lodge the expiatory ceremony for the horses, during a week, with prayers to the Sun, Varuṇa, the Viṣve-Devas, the Creator, Iṇdra, and Viṣṇu.

7. The horses are to be treated with respect, not spoken to in a harsh way, nor beaten, their fears being removed by festive sounds, and the noise of horns, musical instruments, and song.

8. On the eighth day is erected, south of the arch, a shed with its front to the north, strewn with holy grass and tree barks; the fire is placed on the sacrificial eminence¹ (prepared) east of the shed.

¹ Utpala adds: वेदीलक्षणमत्राचार्येण नोक्तं। अस्माभिरन्यशास्त्रात्प्रदर्शते। तथाच

यज्ञे चतुःषष्टिकरा विवाहे वेदी द्विजानां दिनरप्रमाणा ।
कार्या ततोऽष्टांशमपक्रमेण राजन्यवैश्ववृषलान्यजानाम् ॥

9, 10, 11. Sandal, costus, madder, yellow orpiment, realgar, fragrant Priyangu, orris root, Croton polyandrum, Cocculus cordifolius,¹ Morunga,² Curcuma longa, Tabernæmontana coronaria, Premna spinosa, Clitoria ternatea,³ Pûṛṇakosha,⁴ Kaṭambharā,⁵ Trāyamāṇā, aloe, Nāgapushpā, Mucuna pruri-tus, Asparagus racemosa and Asclepias acida : these are the sacrificial ingredients to be put in jars, whereas an oblation is made in due form, consisting of various meats, especially honey, milk, and barley cakes.⁶

12. The fuel must be from the khayar, Butea frondosa, glomerated fig-tree, Gmelina arborea or pipal. One should make the sacrificial ladle of gold or silver, if one is anxious of well-being.

13. The king, in full pomp, attended by the horseleech and the astrologer, has to take his seat on a tiger-skin, near the fire, with his face to the east.

14. The foretokens of the altar, the priest and the fire,

तथाच

सप्तहस्ता ब्राह्मणानां वेदी यज्ञे प्रकीर्तिता ।
व्यन्तराणामतो न्यूना निर्दिष्टा मुनिभिः सदा ॥
अतो न्यूनाधिका वेदी यजमानस्य मृत्युदा ॥

तथाच

यज्ञे विवाहे वक्ष्यामि वेदिमानं समासतः ।
त्रिसप्तहस्तविस्तारा ब्राह्मणानां शुभावहा ॥
क्षत्रियाणां पञ्चदश वैश्यानां नवसम्मिता ।
सप्तहस्ता तु शूद्राणां शिष्यानां पञ्च कीर्तिता ॥
त्रिहस्ता व्यन्तराणान्तु वेदी सर्वत्र कीर्तिता ।
भुवोऽप्यलामि मर्त्यानां चातुर्वर्ण्ये प्रकीर्तिता ।
पञ्चहस्ता कृता वेदी सर्वमङ्गल्यदायिका ॥

¹ Comm. explains *amṛtā* with *gudḍaśī*.

² Uncertain ; Comm. says, *anjanam srotānjanam prasiddham, śobhān-janam vā*.

³ Utpala explains *agnimanthā* with *tarkūrī*, and *śvetā* with *girikarnikā*.

⁴ Probably the same with *pûṛṇakoshā*, a kind of Cyperus grass.

⁵ Synonymous with *mahāśvetā*, according to Utpala.

⁶ Comm. says only : *yāvakaṃ yavaprakāraḥ*.

such as mentioned both in the Yâtrâ in the chapter on the sacrifice to the planets, and in the chapter on Indra's banner, must on this occasion also be attended to.

15, 16. After consecrating and washing a horse marked with lucky signs and a choice elephant, honouring them with new white cloth, perfumes, garlands, and incense, one should softly lead them, with caressing words, under the triumphal arch amid the sounds of musical instruments, horns and festive shouts filling the quarters far and wide.

17. If the horse led to the spot, there stands with his right foot uplifted, the king will soon without difficulty conquer his foes.

18. A restive animal bodes ill to the sovereign. The other motions of elephants and horses have been expounded in the Yâtrâ, and ought here also to be considered so far as applicable.

19. The priest should give the courser a morsel, having muttered a benediction over it. By smelling at it or eating, the animal is said to bring victory ; in the contrary case, the reverse is to happen.

20. The priest now plunges a branch of glomerated fig-tree into the water in the jars, and touches with it horses, soldiers, elephants, and the king himself, with prayers for expiation and prosperity.

21. The expiatory ceremony for the weal of the realm being done, the priest proceeds to utter imprecatory spells, at the same time piercing with a stiletto the breast of a clay figure representing the enemy.

22. The court priest then puts, praying, the bridle bit into the horse's mouth, whereupon the king mounts, and, the lustration being finished, moves with his army in a north-easterly direction.

23. The monarch, illumined by the multitude of moving gleams proceeding from his numerous crown jewels, shines like the sun at the season when the clouds have disappeared, whilst the wind is scented with the fragrance of the juice trickling from the elephants that are merry from hearing the sound of tabor and horn.

24. The bright chowries wafting delicious breezes around the king resemble the rows of swans of the king of the mountains (Himālaya) flying to and fro. It is those breezes by which the splendid wreaths and garments are slightly moved.

25. Equipped with diadem, earrings, and armlets studded with various gems and diamonds, and perfused by the rays of many jewels, the monarch shows the lustre of the rainbow.

26. Surrounded by horses that seem to fly upwards to the sky, and by elephants that appear to rend the earth, the prince will march amid his men as if he were Indra amid the victorious gods.

27. Or adorned with diamonds and pearls, wearing a white garland, turban, and perfumed garments, mounted on an elephant and covered by the umbrella, he bears comparison to Hesperus, when shining forth above a dark cloud and below the Moon.

28. He who owns an army in which men, horses, and elephants are over-merry, which is glittering from the beams of polished weapons, shows no evil symptoms, and strikes terror into the ranks of the enemy, shall soon conquer the earth.

CHAPTER XLV.

Sight of Wagtails.

1. I am going to tell the effects which, agreeably to the statements of the sages, take place on the first appearance of the bird commonly called wagtail.

2. A big sort of wagtail, with erected and black neck, is named "lucky," and brings luck. Another, black as far as his neck and face, is called "complete," and fulfils hopes.

3. A third species has a black dot on the neck and white cheeks; his name is "empty," and he makes empty. A yellow one, called orpiment-yellow,¹ augurs evil by its appearance.

¹ In this instance *gopīta* is not well to be explained, but as another spelling for *gopīta*. The words *pitta* and *pīta* are certainly originally identical.

4, 5, 6. A wagtail brings happiness by being seen on sweet odorous fruits, flowers, and trees; at water reservoirs, hallowed spots, on the head of an elephant, horse, or snake; on palaces and temples, in public gardens, near mansions, cows, a cow station, a company of fashionable people, a sacrifice, feast, princes, Brahmans; on stables for elephants or horses; on umbrellas, flags, chowries, and the like; near gold; on white cloths, water-lilies, blue lotuses, places decorated and patched up, vessels of curds, and corn ricks.

7. Sweet food will be obtained when the bird is standing in mud; abundance of milk (may be expected), when he is standing on cow dung. When he goes on the turf, one is to get cloth, and when he stands on a cart the country is to perish.

8. By being seen on the thatch of a house he intimates loss of wealth; by standing on a thong, imprisonment; by being stationed on an unclean spot, sickness. By being perched on the back of a goat or sheep, he will bring about a speedy meeting between lovers.

9. A wagtail is ill-omened and threatens death and disease when appearing on buffaloes, camels, donkeys, bones, cemeteries, in house corners, on gravel, hills,¹ town walls, ashes, or hairs.

10. The wagtail is disastrous when he is clapping his wings, but auspicious when drinking water or standing by a river. He bodes good at sunrise, but produces evil effects when seen at sunset.

11. If a sovereign after the consummation of a lustration of his army moves in the direction in which he sees a wagtail go, his foe soon comes under his sway.

12. On the spot where a wagtail goes a-pairing, there is a treasure; beneath the place where he vomits, is glass; and where he voids his increments is charcoal. So they say; wherefore, to remove your curiosity, you may dig the soil.

13. A dead, crippled, wounded, or diseased, bird produces effects corresponding with his bodily condition. When he is

² The Comm. has *aṭṭa*, "a turret, bastion," instead of *adri*.

alighting in one's presence, he brings wealth ; and when he is flying up into the air, he yields a meeting with relations.

14. The king, too, when he sees an auspicious wagtail on an auspicious spot, should arrange on the ground a hospitable offering, wholesome and acceptable, along with fragrant flowers and incense. Then he shall prosper.

15. Even if it be an ill-omened wagtail the king describes, he shall not come to grief, provided he be careful to honour the Brahmans, his *gurus*, virtuous men, and the deities, and take no flesh meat for a week.

16. The effects attending the first appearance of wagtails are to take place within a year ; in other cases, however, on the very day at a later hour. (To foretell the effects), one must make due allowance for modifying circumstances, as direction, place, countenance, horoscope, state of quiet or molestation, and so forth.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Portentous Phenomena.

1. I am going to treat of the portents which Garga expounded to Atri. A portent may be shortly defined as anything contrary to nature.

2. From the accumulation of evil, owing to men's sinful conduct, comes calamity, which celestial, atmospherical, and terrestrial portents foreshow.

3. The deities, displeased with men's sinful conduct, produce these portents, to paralyze which the ruler should order an expiation in his kingdom.

4. Celestial portents are unnatural phenomena of planets and stars, meteors, typhoons, storms, haloes. Atmospherical ones are aerial cities (*Fata morgana*), rainbows, and such-like.

5, 6. Terrestrial portents are those which occur with movable and immovable things. The latter may be checked by expiations and allayed ; an atmospherical portent may be somewhat mitigated, whereas a celestial one cannot be assuaged. Thus it is asserted by some. Yet a celestial portent also may

be allayed through donations of much gold, food, cows, and land, through (the ceremony of) milking a cow on a precinct hallowed to Rudra, and through the Koṭihoma.

7. A celestial portent may affect the sovereign in eight different ways, viz., in its consequences to himself, his children, his treasury, his horse and elephants, his residence, his wife, his priest, or his people.

8. The falling into pieces without any assignable cause, the moving, sweating, weeping, talking, and the like, of emblems of Īiva, of idols and shrines, tend to the destruction of ruler and land.

9. The breaking or coming down of an axle, wheel, yoke, flag on the cart at a religious procession, the being upset, sinking in or getting entangled of the cart, bring no good to land and king.

10. A portent appearing at images of the seers, Yama, the ancestors and Brahma, is disastrous to Brahmins; a portent at the idols of Rudra and the guardians of the quarters, is so to cattle.

11. A portent at images of the planets Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, augurs ill to court priests; one at Viṣṇu's idol, to the people at large; one at Skanda's and Viçākha's, to governors of provinces.

12. An unnatural phenomenon at the image of the Veda-Vyāsa, threatens the royal counsellors; and one at Vināyaka's, the commander of the army. A portent at Dhātār's and Viçvakarman's statue is stated to be disastrous to the people.

13. Any unnatural symptom at the images of the boys, girls, wives, and attendants of the gods, concerns the king's sons, daughters, wives, and retainers.

14. The same applies to images of giants, imps, elves, and snakes. All of them produce their effects in eight months.

15. On perceiving an abnormal phenomenon at an idol, the court priest, purified by a three days' fast and bathing, should worship the idol with a bath, flowers, ointment, and garments.

16. The priest has, in due manner, to wait upon the idol with a dish of honey and milk, such as presented to a guest,

to which are added sweetmeats and oblations of fruits, etc. Farther he should present a cooked oblation, according to the rules, along with prayers addressed to the god.

17. Those kings who, at the appearance of unnatural symptoms of idols, duly direct expiations to be performed, Brahmans and gods to be honoured, and a festival with singing and dancing to be held for a week, shall not experience the evil results, as they are checked by those formalities and by sacrificial fees.

18. In any country where something not fiery blazes forth, and where fire not lacking the necessary fuel will not flame, you may be sure that ruler and subjects shall be distressed.

19. If water, flesh, or anything wet, blazes, the king shall be killed ; if a weapon does so, there is to be a dreadful war ; the going out of fires in camps, villages, or towns, brings danger.

20. Where palaces, houses, gateways, flags and the like are burned by fire or lightning, there is surely a hostile invasion to be expected.

21. Smoke issuing from something else but fire, as well as haziness and utter darkness by day, forebode great danger. The disappearing of the stars in a cloudless night, and their being visible by day, is mischievous.

22. A glare proceeding from towns, quadrupeds, birds, or men, is said to be dangerous. The appearing of smoke, fire, and sparks, on couches, clothes, and hair, causes death.

23. On seeing weapons¹ blaze, move, utter sounds, jump out of the sheath, tremble, or show any other unnatural symptoms, one may predict that dreadful war and tumult is quickly approaching.

24. In such cases one has to offer white mustard seed and

¹ The Comm. has a remark touching the proper meaning of *dyudha*, in reference to the word *praharaya* occurring in stanza 19. He says : नयजिता चित्रलक्षण आयुधानां त्रयो भेदा अभिहिताः । प्रहरणानि पाणिमुक्तानि यन्त्रमुक्तानि चेति । तत्र प्रहरणानि खड्गादीनि । पाणिमुक्तानि चक्रादीनि । यन्त्रमुक्तान्यश्मशरास्त्रकोदण्डाश्चेति । येयमायुधमिति सञ्ज्ञा सा सर्वव्यापिनी ॥ Nagnajit is the reputed author of a work on the art of painting; cf. ch. lviii. 4.

ghee to the God of Fire, with invocations to him; the fuel needed ought to be from juice-producing trees (e.g. *Calotropis gigantea*). Besides, gold must be bestowed on the Brahmans. Such is the expiation for portents of fire, etc.

25. When boughs of trees on a sudden snap asunder, you may predict a warlike expedition. On the laughing of trees follows ruin of the country; on their weeping follows prevalence of diseases.

26. A tree produces discord in the realm by blossoming out of season. When a young tree is excessively in bloom, children will die. When milk is flowing from a tree, all kinds of substances will be lost.

27. The oozing out of spirituous liquor produces the loss of elephants and horses; that of blood, brings war; that of honey, sickness. When oil is flowing out, there is danger of famine; when water issues, there is some great peril.

28. The sprouting of withered trees, and the withering of healthy ones, augurs loss of strength and food. When trees, once fallen, raise themselves, danger is to arise by the decrees of fate.

29. When a tree held in especial esteem bears blossoms and fruits out of season, it is concluded that death awaits the sovereign; smoke or glare from it denotes likewise the king's death.

30. By trees leaving their places or talking, the ruin of the country is announced. All portentous tokens of trees take effect in ten months.

31. After putting an umbrella upon the tree, worshipping it with garlands, perfumes, incense, and cloth, and propitiating him, the priest has to mutter the prayer to the Rudras that commence with "*Rudrebbhyah*," at the same time performing the sacrifice divided into six parts.¹

¹ Reading and translation are equally uncertain. The Comm. has षडेव होमाः and gives an explanation that is not wholly satisfactory: अत्रास्मिन्नुत्पातविषये रुद्राणां मन्त्राणामेकादशानामनुवाकानां जपः कार्यः । रुद्रेभ्यः स्वाहा । इत्यत्र षडेव होमाः कार्याः ॥ Probably the षडङ्गहोम is the same with the six Kūshmāṇḍas; cf. ch. xlviii. 71, footnote.

32. The king has to treat the Brahmans with milk-porridge, honey, and ghee. The reward to be bestowed consists of land, agreeably to the rule laid down by the eminent Seers in reference to portents shown by trees.

33. Two or three lotuses, barley-ears, and such-like, growing on one stalk, presage the death of the owner. The same is true of a germinated blossom or fruit.

34. Excessive growth of corn, and generic difference of fruits and blossoms on one tree, intimate with certainty a hostile inroad.

35. When sesamums yield only half the usual amount of oil, or no oil at all, and when food loses its flavour, then you may be sure an extreme danger is impending.

36. A portentous blossom or fruit must be removed from the village or town. At such an emergency a cooked oblation is to be offered to Soma, or a victim killed, for expiation.

37. On seeing unnatural signs in corn, the owner should first bestow the field where it grows to the Brahmans, and then bring, in the midst of it, a boiled oblation to Earth. By so doing one shall suffer no injury.

38. Want of rain causes dearth; too much rain gives rise to danger of famine and foreign invasion; rain in the wrong season produces illness; and rain by a cloudless sky forebodes death to the king.

39. From an irregular change of heat and cold, and from a disordered progress of the seasons, ensues after six months unsafety to the realm, as well as horrible diseases engendered by (the wrath of) Fate.

40. A continual rain during a week, and that out of season, is followed by the death of the sovereign; a blood rain produces war; a rain of flesh, bones, fat, and such like, produces pestilence.

41. You may hold danger to result from a rain of grain, gold, barks, fruits, flowers, and the like. A town where it rains charcoal and dust is going to perdition.

42. A rain of stones from a cloudless sky, or of monsters, or a (sudden) break in the midst of excessive rain, engenders manifold calamities to the grains.

43. [From a rain of milk, ghee, wax, curds, blood, and hot water,¹ may be prophesied the ruin of the country ; and from blood rain, strife between princes.]

44. When no shadow is seen by bright sunshine, or the shadow is seen inverted, one may announce a very great peril to be near.

45. When by day or night, in east or west, is seen a rainbow in a cloudless sky, there is great apprehension of famine.

46. It is said that at the time of a portentous rain, the Sun, Moon, the Rain-god and Wind do co-operate. Donations of corn, food, and cows ought (in such cases) to be made, by which the evil is assuaged.

47. The receding of rivers from a town, and the drying up of never shallow rivers or other waters, like deep lakes, etc., produces desolation within a short time.

48. Rivers that carry fat, blood, or flesh, that are troubled, filthy, or run backwards, presage the approach, six months hence, of a hostile army.

49. Blazing, smoking, boiling, as well as weeping, shrieking, singing, and talking of wells, are said to produce mortality among the people.

50. The springing up of water without previous digging, any change in the water's smell and taste, or any portent in reservoirs, denotes great danger. At such an emergency the manner of expiation is as follows.

51. In case of water showing unnatural symptoms, Varuṇa is to be worshipped with muttering of prayers addressed to him. By such means the evil is allayed.

52. When women bring forth monstrosities, or two, three, four, and more children at a time, and long before or after the usual period, ruin befalls the family or the country at large.

53. Mares, camels, buffaloes, cows, and elephants perish by giving birth to twins. The effects of portentous births appear in six months. Anent the expiation has Garga delivered the following stanzas :—

54. "If a man is anxious of his own weal, he must

¹ The r. *variṇām* is certainly wrong ; it should be changed into *vāriṇo*.

leave those women in a stranger's territory, satisfy the Brahmans by fulfilling their wants, and cause expiatory ceremonies appropriate to the occasion to be performed by them.

55. "Quadrupeds ought to be dismissed from their flocks (and brought) to foreign grounds. Else they will prove fatal to the town, their owner, and flock."

56. Quadrupeds covering animals of totally different kind, cows leaping upon one another, and a dog sucking a calf, these are bad signs.

57. On such an emergency you may know for certain that in three months a hostile inroad shall occur. To avert it, Garga has taught the two stanzas that follow:—

58. "Parting with the animal, banishing or giving it away, that will speedily expiate (the portent). At the same time (the owner) must treat the Brahmans, and bid them perform muttered prayers by way of sacrifice.

59. "The court priest offers a cooked oblation and a victim to the Creator, with a prayer to the god, while food and fees in plenty are distributed."

60. When a carriage without the drawing animal moves on, and one being drawn does not, or when the wheels stick or give way on the road, then the kingdom is threatened.

61. When musical instruments sound without being struck, and give no sound at all when struck, or a wrong note, the foe is approaching or the king about to die.

62. Tunes of song and sounds of musical instruments in the sky, as well as unnatural transformations of movable and fixed objects, presage death or diseases; a jarring instrument announces defeat at the hands of the enemy.

63. Where ox and plough get entangled, where spoons, winnowing baskets and other implements show portentous tokens, and where jackals are hooting, there is danger from the sword. The Sage's advice (with regard to the aforementioned portents) runs thus:—

64. "These aerial portents producing themselves, the monarch ought to honour the God of Air with fried flower,

and bid the Brahmans to devoutly mutter the five verses beginning with 'Ā vāyo.'¹

65. "He is to honour the Brahmans with milk, food, and guerdons. They must likewise carefully perform sacrifices to the Fire, the reward for which consists in plenty of food and fees."

66, 67. Town birds roaming in the forest and wild birds entering the town without marks of fear; day birds roaming by night and nocturnal ones by day; wild beasts or birds forming circles at dawn and twilight, or shrieking with one accord in a blasted quarter: all these bring danger.

68, 69. Threatening also are dogs wailing, as it were, at the door; jackals yelling in vexed condition; a dove or owl penetrating into a palace; a cock crowing at eve; the *kokila* warbling early in winter; hawks and the like moving in the sky in gyrations from right to left.

70. Assemblies of many birds on dwellings, holy trees, triumphal arches and gates, as well as their coming up from beehives, ant-hills, and lotuses, are forebodings of ruin.

71. Dogs carrying limbs of dead bodies and bones into a room, intimate pestilence. Cattle or swords, when uttering words, announce the king's death. The Sage says:

72, 73. "When wild beasts and birds show unnatural signs, one should make sacrifices to Fire, and give sacrificial fees. Five Brahmans should mutter the prayer, '*Devāḥ kapota*,'² etc., and one Brahman the prayer '*Su devā*,'³ etc. Or they may use the augural song for a prayer, and the headings of the Atharva-veda.⁴ The reward to be given to the priests consists of cows."

¹ R̥gveda 7, 92. Instead of वायोरिति the author may have written वायो इति, as the rules of Sandhi are not always observed before *iti*. Yet वायविति would be preferable.

² R̥gveda 10, 165.

³ Vāḷakhilya 6, 4.

⁴ Utpala considers *manovedaḥirāṇsi* to be a Dvandva: मनो मन्त्रः । वेदशिरांसि अथर्वशिरःप्रभृतीनि. But such a *mantra* would needs

74. The falling down and breaking of Indra's standard, of door-bolts, columns, gates, door-leaves, arches, and ensigns, foreshows the king's death.

75. A strong glare at dawn and twilight, the appearance in woods of smoke without fire, the splitting of the earth without chasms being visible, and her trembling, give rise to apprehension.

76. The country where the sovereign is attached to heretics and atheists, immoral, irascible, envious, cruel, and bent on making wars, that country comes to ruin.

77. Where little boys, with weapons, sticks and stones in their hands, are fighting and uttering such cries as "Strike! strike! cut! pierce!" there also is danger impending.¹

78. A dwelling where with charcoal, red chalk, and the like, are drawn figures of monsters and ghosts, or which is painted over by hobgoblins,² such a dwelling soon comes to perdition.

79. That house too meets ruin which is motley with cob-webs, not honoured at morn and evening, filled with quarrels, and where the housewife is always sluttish.

80. When goblins show themselves, you may predict pestilence to be near at hand. For averting these evil tokens, Garga has prescribed the following expiation :—

81. "The best expiations, in such a case, are oblations of fruits, etc., and treats on a grand scale, which the king should

require some defining word. *Manaveda* must be a *Tatpurusha*, and as *manah* = *manu*, is "a spell," and in so far synonymous with *brahman*, and as the *Atharvaveda* is also called *brahmaveda*, we may conclude that *manaveda* is one of the designations of that Veda.

¹ Comm. तथाच पराशरः

यदि धनुरसिकाष्ठलोष्ठहस्ताः पुरं शिशवो रणवत्समाचरन्ति ।

प्रहर हर जहीत्युदाहरन्तो भयं नचिरात्तुमुलं निवेदयन्ति ॥

² All MSS. have *nāyaka*, which the Comm. explains to be *gyrasvadmī*. As the passage, so interpreted, is unintelligible, I suppose that the word *nāyaka* is to be taken in the acceptation of *vināyaka*, although I am unable to adduce any other example of the word being thus used.

order, at the same time worshipping Indra with metrical prayers addressed to the god."

82. The appearance of portents at the time a monarch or realm is destroyed, at the rise of a comet, and at an eclipse of sun or moon, as well as their appearance in the proper season, has no injurious effects.

83. Those phenomena that, as being natural effects of the season, produce no mischief, may be known from the ensuing concise verses of Rshiputra's :—

84, 85. "Lightning, thunderbolts, earthquakes, gleaming of morning and evening, squalls of whirlwind, haloes, settings and risings of the sun darkened by haze or vapour, the trees bearing food, juice, oil, numerous flowers and fruits, increase of rut with bulls and birds, are favourable tokens in the two months of spring."

86, 87. "In summer you may presage good on seeing the rivers dry up and the sky rosy at dawn and twilight, and boisterous like a sea, or covered with a blaze not proceeding from fire, with explosions, vapour, dust, and wind. The sky may also appear stained by falling stars and meteors, and the orb of Sun and Moon in it shine tawny."

88, 89. "Rainbows, haloes, lightning; sprouting of sear trees; trembling, upheaval, change in appearance, rumbling and splitting of the earth; rising, overflowing, and inundations of lakes, rivers, and water reservoirs; giving way of hills and dwellings: all these are symptoms not dangerous in the rainy season."

90, 91. "The sight of celestial nymphs, spirits, gandharvas, celestial chariots and prodigies; the appearance in the heavens of planets, asterisms, and stars by day; strains of song and music in woods and on mountain edges; the luxuriant growth of corn and the decrease of water, are, all of them, said to be favourable in autumn."

92, 93. "Cool breezes, frost, noise of wild deer and birds, the sight of giants, gnomes, and such-like beings, the sound of an inhuman voice, the darkening of the horizon, canopy, woods and mountains owing to haze, and high risings and settings of the sun, are held auspicious in winter."

94, 95. "Fall of snow, abnormal winds, the sight of deformities and prodigies, a sky black like collyrium, streaked yellow with falling stars and meteors; wonderful births from women, cows, goats, horses, wild beasts and birds; strange symptoms on leaves, sprouts, and twigs: all this is auspicious in the dewy season."

96. "All these phenomena produce good in their own season, as being the natural concomitants of the season, but they are most dreadful when appearing out of the season."

97. "What madmen utter in their songs, children in their talk, and women in their chattering, will never go amiss."

98. "Indeed, truthful is that oracular voice; first the goddess of speech walks amongst the gods before she descends to men, and she speaks not unless incited."

99. A clever observer of portents, should he be even devoid of astronomical knowledge, will become a renowned man and a favourite of the king. It is this mystery revealed by the Seers, by knowing which a man will be enabled to look into past, present, and future.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Miscellaneous.

1. In the preceding part of this work I have amply mentioned the good and evil influences of celestial and atmospheric phenomena, chiefly when describing the planets' courses, conjunctions, conflicts, roads, etc.

2. "Hence Varāha-mihira ought not to treat the same matter again, he professing to be a compendious author;" thus they will blame him and say: "Men of science should not give the chapter generally known by the designation of Miscellaneous chapter,¹ since it contains a repetition of already mentioned effects."

3. But it is the very character of this chapter to repeat what has previously been told, and if I did not write it I should be no less liable to blame.

¹ Properly, "motley as a peacock's tail."

4. All planets, if radiant and moving in the northern paths, bring peace, abundance, and happiness; but the same, by moving in the southern paths,¹ and bereft of radiance, produce famine, robbery, and death.

5. If Venus stands in Maghâ, and Jupiter (at the same time) in Pushya, monarchs will keep peace, and their subjects enjoy happiness, mirth, and health.

6. If the planets, the Sun excepted, oppress Kṛttikâ, Maghâ, Rohiṇî, or Jyeshthâ, the western country is visited with distress.

7. If at evening the same are stationed like a flag in the east, there must needs be strife between the sovereigns of the east; and if they are so disposed in midheaven, the middle country is sure to come to grief. These effects, however, only take place in case the planets are coarse, not if they are bright and radiant.

8. By the planets occupying the southern quarters, the rain-clouds in the Dekkhan get dispersed. War results from their showing small and coarse, but peace is augured from their appearing bulky and radiant.

9. By beaming brightly, while standing in the northern road, they bring bliss to the kings in that quarter; by looking small and ashy-hued, they will harm countries and princes in that direction.

10. When the stars of the lunar mansions and planets are wrapped in smoke, flame, and sparks, or remain invisible without assignable cause, the whole land and its ruler will come to destruction.

11. When a brace of moons shine by day, then will Brahman soon thrive uncommonly well; two suns forebode war between Kshatriyas; three, four, or more suns, announce the world's end.

12. A comet by coming in contact with the Seven Seers, Abhijit, the Polestar, and Jyeshthâ, destroys the rain-clouds, is injurious to good actions, and brings sorrow. Açleshâ being touched, the rain will certainly come to nought, and

¹ Cf. ch. ix. 1-6.

the country, distracted and full of (fatherless) children, will perish.

13. Saturn, by moving and retrograding in Kṛttikā and the next six lunar mansions, causes famine, violent danger, discord amongst friends, and drought.¹

14. If Saturn, Mars, or a comet crosses Rohiṇī's wain, need I tell that the whole world shall perish in a sea of calamities?²

15. When a comet repeatedly appears or moves through the whole of the asterisms, then shall the world, movable and immovable, taste the bitter fruits of actions in a former existence.

16. By showing the shape of a bow, and by being rough and blood-coloured, the Moon threatens famine, announces the moving on of armies, and victory on the side the string of the bow is turned to. When her cusps are turned downwards, she is fatal to kine, and gives rise to the loss of the crops. By flaming or smoking, she forebodes death to the king.

17. When the Moon is sleek, large, showing equal horns, broad, and standing high northward in the wild elephant's path,³ when looked at by benign planets, and far removed from the malign ones, she greatly promotes the happiness of mankind.

18. If the Moon accomplishes her conjunction with Maghā, Anurādhā, Jyeshthā, Viçākhā, or Citrā, by approaching them, from the south, she is not auspicious. She is, on the other hand, beneficial, if taking her course north or through the midst of those asterisms.

¹ Comm. तथाच गर्गः

विलम्बितगतिः सौरः प्राग्द्वारेषु यदा भवेत् ।

महाभयानि चत्वारि विजानीयात् समन्ततः ।

अनावृष्टिं भयं धीरं दुर्भिक्षं मित्रवियहम् ॥

² This stanza is quoted in Pancatantra i. st. 240. Cf. also ch. vi. 9; ix. 25. Comm. तथाच गर्गः

रोहिणीशकटं भौमो भिनत्त्यर्कसुतो ऽथवा ।

केतुर्वा जगतो ब्रूयात् प्रलयं समुपस्थितम् ॥

³ Cf. ch. ix. 1.

19. The cloudy horizontal line that crosses the Sun at rising or setting is termed a "bar."¹ An "inclosure" is the same with a mock sun, and an airy staff² has the appearance of a straight rainbow.

20. The long beams going up from the Sun at rising or setting are the "unerring" beams.³ A fragmentary straight rainbow is called the "red line";⁴ the same, but longer, is termed Airāvata.⁵

21. Twilight (of evening) is the time from the Sun's disc having half set upwards to the time when the stars become distinctly visible; and (twilight of morning) is the time from whence the stars begin to fade in lustre until the moment the Sun has half risen.

22. From the aforesaid phenomena at twilight (of morning and evening), one has to foretell good and evil. When all of them appear sleek, there will be instant rain; when coarse, there will be unsafety.

23. Rain is to be expected by an unbroken cloudy bar, a clear sky, darkish or sleek sunbeams, a bright rainbow, lightning in the north-east, or when a tree-shaped cloud is shone upon by the Sun's rays, or when a huge cloud shrouds the setting Sun.

24. In the country where the Sun seems broken off, wry, blackish, small, or marked with the figures of crows or other inauspicious animals, and coarse, in that country it is almost certain that the ruler is undone.

25. He whose army is followed by troops of carnivorous birds when he is about to do battle, shall suffer a heavy defeat; but if the birds are in advance, he shall triumph.

26. When at sunrise or sunset a Fata morgana in the shape of an army obstructs the solar orb, then you may predict that battle and peril draw near to the king.

27. A softly gleaming twilight, joined to a soft breeze and the noise of unmolested birds and wild beasts, is lucky; one that is obscured by dust, is lacking lustre, or shows a tinge like blood, causes the ruin of the country.

¹ Cf. ch. xxx. 25.

² Cf. ch. xxx. 16.

³ Cf. ch. xxx. 11.

⁴ Cf. ch. xxviii. 16.

⁵ Cf. ch. xxx. 8.

28. Herewith have I expounded, without repetition, all that the Seers have more copiously stated. Even after hearing the *kokila's* tune, the crow will not leave off croaking; for it is but its nature not to outdo the *kokila*.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Royal Inauguration Ceremony.

1. The ruler is to the people what the root is to the tree. Since general woe ensues from the root being impaired, and general weal follows from its being kept in good condition, the sovereign must, in the first place, be taken care of.

2. Now learn the propitiating ceremony, such as it has been revealed by the Creator for Indra's sake to the teacher of the gods (Brhaspati), and handed down by the latter to Vṛddha-Garga, who delivered it to Bhâguri.¹

3. This inauguration ceremony,² than which no rite for

¹ The *pushyasnam* agrees in its general features with the royal inauguration ceremony as prescribed in Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa viii. and Çatapatha-Br. v.; yet in the particulars there are important discrepancies.

² Utpala takes *pushyasnam* to signify "the washing at (the conjunction of the Moon with) Pushya." The period fixed upon for the ceremony is, indeed, the conjunction just named, but that is plainly done upon the principle of *nomen omen*. The original meaning is that of "auspicious washing," for it was by no means necessary to perform the rite at Pushya, though it was the more common course. The wrong etymology is countenanced by these lines of Vṛddha-Garga's:

देवाश्च दितिर्वैः सार्धं स्पर्धमाना हि मानिनः ।

परस्परं महद्युद्धं चक्रुः सर्वे सुरासुराः ॥

ततो दैत्यगणैः क्रुद्धैर्देवाः सर्वे विनिर्जिताः ।

ततोऽङ्गिराः सुरगुरुर्ध्यानसक्तो भवत्पुरा ॥

पुरन्दराभिषेकार्थं बृहस्पतिरकल्पयत् ।

तिथ्यमात्रीयनक्षत्रं यस्य देवो बृहस्पतिः ॥

quelling evil portents is more efficacious, must be conducted by the astrologer and the court priest.

4, 5. A fit place for the ceremony is some spot in a forest covered with young trees, shrubs, creepers, and spreading plants, abounding with lovely, sweet-smelling trees, with unimpaired leaves and shoots; where no cordia, no beleric myrobalan, no spinous, bitter, bad-smelling trees are found, and where no inauspicious birds, like owls, vultures, etc., are staying.

6, 7. Some woodskirt ringing with the noise of cocks, pheasants, parrots, peacocks, woodpeckers, blue jays, green pigeons, sylvatic partridges, red partridges, francolines, *vanjulas*,¹ doves, *grīkas*,² bees inebriated with sipping flower-juice, *kokilas*, and others,—such a place also is adapted to the purpose; as well as some pure building on consecrated ground.

8. Or one should perform the rite on beautiful sandy river banks, scratched by the nails of aquatic birds, and as charming to eye and heart as the (swelling) haunches of sportful damsels.

9, 10. Or near a lake azure as the clear sky, where dark lotuses are open like so many eyes, where skipping swans form as it were a (white) umbrella, and ducks, ospreys, and cranes raise their cries. Or a lake where the water-lilies, like so many damsels, show their full-blown flowers like so many faces, and their swelling buds like breasts, whilst they seem to chatter in the melodious tones of warbling swans.

11. Or else one may perform the ceremony in a cow-station that is gay with the lowing and frisking of young calves, where the ground is covered with impressions of hoofs, dung, and froth proceeding from kine ruminating.

तेन देवो भिक्षितः स देवराजः पुरन्दरः ।
ततो बलं समाकूढो नाशयामास दानवान् ॥
देवाश्च हृष्टमनसः पुरीं प्राप्यामरावतीम् ।
पुण्यस्नानं बलतरं तदारभ्य प्रवर्तितम् ॥

¹ What kind of bird the *vanjula* is I cannot tell; a synonymous term is *khadiracañcu*.

² According to the Comm. the *grīka* is the same as *grīkarna*.

12. Or on the seaside crowded with happily arrived splendid ships, and showing a line half dark, half white, owing to the fishes and white birds lurking in the rotang.

13. Or in hermitages where the young ones of deer and birds find a safe refuge, and a lion is subdued by a hind, like wrath is quelled by patience.

14. Or in a house blessed with deer-eyed women with voices sweet as the *kokila's*, and with steps that betray them to be hindered by the golden girdle, ankle rings and heavy haunches they have to carry.

15. Or at hallowed shrines, bathing-places, in public gardens, spots with beautiful scenery, on some tract of land sloping down to the north-east, and bounded by a stream running in a direction from left to right.¹

16, 17. The soil, to be conducive to victory, must be hard, good-smelling, sleek, sweet, plain, not covered with ashes, charcoal, bones, brackish spots, husks, hairs, cavities, lairs of land-crabs, holes of porcupines and mice, and ant-hills. In choosing an encampment for the troops, one has to follow the same rules as much as circumstances allow.

18, 19. The astrologer, minister, and officiating priest must set out by night from the town in an easterly, northerly, or north-easterly direction, where, after preparing an oblation, the priest devoutly and humbly performs the invocation, presenting fried grains, whole barleycorns, curds, and flowers. The verses for the invocation, such as taught by the Seer, are:

20. "May they come! all the divine beings who are desirous to receive our worship, the regents of the quarters, the snakes, birds, and whosoever has a share in the offering."

21. Having thus invoked them all, the priest shall say: "On obtaining our worship, they will depart to-morrow morning, leaving their blessing to our sovereign."

¹ Comm. तथाच वृद्धगर्गः

समुद्रतीरे सोद्याने नदीनां सङ्गमे शुभे ।

महाह्रदे च्यवा तीर्थे देवतायतने च्यवा ॥

सर्वर्तुकुमुपोपेते वने द्विजवरैर्युते ।

गृहे रम्ये विविक्ते वा पुण्यस्नानं समाचरेत् ॥

22. After they have worshipped the invocated beings, they are to stay there over night, to observe good and evil dreams, agreeably to the rules laid down in the Yâtrâ.

23. On the next morning, the ingredients for the rite, which will presently be described, must be carried to the designated spot. The following stanzas bearing upon the subject have been delivered by the Seers :

24, 25, 26. "Then should the priest, by drawing a circle, prepare the ground, to be decked with various and numerous gems ; then divide the diagram into different compartments, which he assigns severally to the Snakes, Yakshas, Gods, Ancestors, Gandharvas, Nymphs, Seers, Blessed, Planets, Lunar Mansions, Rudras, Mother Deities, Skanda, Vishṇu, Viçākha, the Guardians of the Eight Quarters, and the Wives of the Gods.

27, 28. "Having marked them by different colours, he must skilfully honour each of them, according to their rank, with delicious fragrant perfumes, garlands, and ointments ; likewise with sweetmeats, and various other sorts of food, as fruits, roots, flesh ; and with different delicious beverages, liquor, milk, wine, and the like."

29. I proceed to tell how the deities, whose names are written down in the diagram, should be honoured. As to the planets, one must keep to the rule stated in (the chapter of the Yâtrâ on) the offering to the planets.

30. The imps, demons, and children of darkness are worshipped with flesh, boiled rice, wine, etc. ; the Ancestors, with unguents, collyrium, oil, and also with flesh and boiled rice.

31. The Seers are honoured with passages from the Sâma-, Yajur-, and R̥g-Veda, along with perfumes, incense, and garlands ; the Snakes with colours not amalgamating with one another,¹ with honey, ghee, and sugar.

32. The Gods are worshipped with incense, ghee, oblations to fire, garlands, jewels, praises and signs of reverence ;

¹ The rendering is doubtful ; Comm. : यत्र बहूनां वर्णानामश्लेषः संयोगो नास्ति ते ।

the Gandharvas and Nymphs, with most sweet-scented perfumes and garlands.

33. The rest are treated with vari-coloured oblations. As tokens of worship to all of them in general must be laid down amulet strings, raiments, flags, ornaments, and sacrificial strings.

34, 35. The priest then proceeds to kindle fire on the sacrificial eminence, either on the western or southern side of the circle, and bring up the ingredients, viz., long sprigs of Dûb-grass not yet in the bud, fried grains, ghee, whole barleycorns,¹ curds, honey, white mustard seeds, perfumes, flowers, incense, orpiment, collyrium, sesamum, and sweet fruits of the season.

36. Further there must be dishes of milk porridge and ghee. It is with these ingredients the priest performs his sacrifice on the western eminence, where the inauguration is to take place.

37. In the corners are arranged strong water-jars, with white yarn tied round their necks, and covered with sprouts and fruits from such trees as yield a milky juice.

38. The jars contain water mixed with the substances for the washing, and with gems. As to the substances for the ceremony, they are enumerated in the following verses of Garga's.

39-42. "Into the water-jars one shall put the plants Jyotishmatî,² Trâyamânâ, Abhayâ, Aparâjitâ, Jivâ, Viçveç-

¹ The Comm. explains अक्षताः by यवाः; of लाजाः he only remarks : प्रसिद्धाः.

² The original names of the plants have been retained in the translation, in order to show that the choice of those plants is based upon the principle of *nomen omen*. The place of several among them is not yet determined. The Comm. gives a paraphrase that is not without value : ज्योतिष्मतां मुप्रसिद्धाम् । त्रायमाणां प्रसिद्धाम् अभयां हरीतकीम् - अपराजितां शमीं (v.l. शमां) । जीवां जीवन्तीम् । विश्वेश्वरीं पञ्चचारिणीम् । पाठां प्रसिद्धाम् । समङ्गां रक्तमङ्गुष्ठाम् । विजयां वचाम् । सह्यां (v.l. मह्यां) मुद्गपर्णीम् । सहदेवीं (v.l. ०वां) प्रसिद्धाम् । पूर्णकोशां प्रसिद्धाम् । शतावरीं प्रसिद्धैव । अरिष्टकां प्रसिद्धाम् । शिवां प्रसिद्धाम् ।

varī, Pāṭhā, Samangā, Vijayā, Sahā, Sahadevī, Pūrṇakoshā, Çatāvārī, Arishṭikā, Çivā, Bhadrā, Brāhmī, Kshemā, Ajā; further all sorts of seed, gold, things held auspicious at festivities, so far as procurable; all sorts of herbs and flavours [gems, all sorts of perfumes, fruits of *Ægle marmelos* and *Flacourtia sapida*, herbs with auspicious names, gold and things used at festivities].¹

43. "The priest shall spread out, first, the skin of a bull with auspicious marks, who has died from old age. The skin is to be laid so that the neck is turned to the east.

44. "Thereupon is put a red, unimpaired skin of a fighting bull; then, thirdly, a lion's skin, and thereon a tiger's.

45. "These four skins should be spread out on the sacrificial eminence when the moon is in conjunction with the asterism of Pushya, and at a lucky hour."

46. Upon the skins is to be placed a throne wrought of gold, silver, or copper, or made from the wood of such trees as yield a milky juice.

47. The seat is raised a cubit, or one cubit and a quarter, or one and a half, the first bringing luck to governors of provinces, the second to those princes who aspire to conquer their neighbours, and the third to those who wish to lord it over a whole empire.

48, 49. The king shall lay a piece of gold on the stool, and then take his seat, cheerful, surrounded by his ministers, intimates, priest, astrologer, burgesses, and persons of an auspicious name,² while the solemn acclamations sent forth by bards, citizens, and Brahmans, and the festive sounds of tabors, horns, and musical instruments, quell all evil.

भद्रां बलाम् । ब्राह्मीं प्रसिद्धाम् । क्षेमां कष्टगुगुलं चौरकमिति प्रसिद्धम् । अजां प्रसिद्धां केचिदेडिकाक्षीमितीच्छन्ति ॥ मङ्गलानि दध्यक्ष-
तमुमनसादीनि ॥ प्रशस्तानाम्यो या औषधः । यथा जया जयन्ती
जीवपुत्रा पुनर्नवा विष्णुक्रान्ता वाराही लक्षणा ॥

¹ St. 42 contains a superfluous repetition of the three preceding; yet the author may have found the stanza in his copy of Garga's work.

² The Comm. adduces as examples: Jayarāja, Sinharāja, Bandhurāja, Vyāghrarāja.

50. The court priest now wraps the king, who wears a new linen garment, in a woollen blanket, and after making a libation, pours over him the contents of the jars filled with ghee.¹

51. The number of jars may be eight, or twenty-eight, or a hundred and eight; the greater the number the greater the efficacy. The prayer to be recited on the occasion, composed by the Seer (Vṛddha-Garga), here follows:

52, 53. "This glossy liquid is identified with splendour; this is the best expeller of ill; this is the food of gods; on it the worlds are founded. Whatever evil, earthly, atmospheric or celestial, has reached thee, may it all come to nought by contact with the shining liquid!"

54. Then, taking off the woollen blanket, he sprinkles the king with the water destined for the rite, mixed with fruits and flowers, and recites this prayer:

55-70. "May the gods sprinkle thee, and the Blessed from all eternity, Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, the Sādhyas, the hosts of Maruts, the sons of Aditi, Vasus, Rudras, the healing Aṅvins, Aditi the Mother of Gods, Benediction, Perfection, Eloquence, Glory, Fortune, Firmness, Magnificence, Sinīvālī, Kuṣṭh, Danu, Surasā, Vinatā, and Kadru. So, too, may the other Goddesses not named, the Mothers of Gods, and the heavenly crowds of Nymphs sprinkle thee, all together. The Lunar Asterisms, Hours, Halfmonths, Days, Chief Day Periods, Years, Regents of the Days, Minutes, Seconds, Moments, Bits,—these, and other divisions of Time, may they graciously sprinkle thee. The Vaimānikas, the celestial Legions, Manus, Oceans, the Seven Seers with Arundhatī, the Fixed Places,² Marīci, Atri, Pulaha, Pulastya, Kratu, Angiras, Bhṛgu, Sanatkumāra, Sanaka and son,³ Sanātana, Dakṣa, Jaiṣṭhavya, Bhalandana,⁴ Ekata, Dvīta, Trita,

¹ In so much does the ceremony more resemble an anointment than a washing.

² Amongst them the Pole-star.

³ Or *Sanandana* as noun proper.

⁴ Cf. the Var. rr.

Jāvali, Kaçyapa, Durvāsa, Durvināta, Kaṇva, Kātyāyana, Mārkaṇḍeya, Dīrghatapasa, Çunaçcepa, Vidūratha, Ūrva, Samvartaka, Cyavana, Atri, Parāçara, Dvaipāyana, Yavakrīta, Devarāja, and his younger brother,—these, and other Seers intent on wisdom and holiness, rich in purity, may they sprinkle thee, along with their pupils and wives. The Mountains, Trees, Creepers, holy Shrines, the blessed Rivers, the Snakes, Elves, blessed Vaikhānasas, Vaihāyasas, the Father of Creatures, Diti, the Kine who are the Mothers of the Universe, the heavenly Chariots, all the Worlds, changeable and unchangeable, the Fires, Ancestors, Stars, Clouds, Sky, Regions, Waters,—these, and many others whose names are hallowed, may they graciously consecrate thee with water that destroys all evil omens, and bestow on thee hail, long life, and health ! ”

71. These are the verses recited, as well as others prescribed in the ritual of the Atharva-veda, and the prayers called Rudragāṇa, Kūshmāṇḍa, Mahārauhiṇa, Kuberahr̥daya (or Kuberahr̥dya), and Samṛddhi.¹

72. The washing finished, the king has to put on a brace of cotton garments, over which have been muttered (by way of benediction) the three verses beginning with *Āpo hi śhīhā*, and the four commencing with *Hiranyavarṇāh*.²

73. The monarch, after taking water and honouring the deities, his *gurus* and the Brahmans, and also the royal umbrella, standard, and weapons, amidst jubilations and blowing of horns, proceeds to do his personal devotion.³

¹ Comm. एकादशानुवाका रुद्राः । कूष्माण्डैः षडनुवाकाः कूष्माण्डाः । महारौहिणेन मन्त्रेण । कुबेरहृदयेन समृद्ध्या चर्चा ॥ About the six Anuvāka verses termed Kūshmāṇḍa, cf. Skr. Dict. of B. and R. i. v. ; about Mahārauhiṇa, cf. i. v. *rauhiṇa* l. c. What *rcas* are called Kuberahr̥daya and Samṛddhi is unknown to me.

² Atharva-veda 1, 5, 1, *sqq.*, and 1, 33, 1, *sqq.* It may be remarked that the former *mantra* has in our editions of the A.V. not three but four verses. An inaccuracy of the author's is that he indicates *hiranyavarṇa*, instead of *hiranyavarṇāh*.

³ Comm. आत्मीयेष्टदेवतार्चा, i.e. commending himself to the protection of his guardian deity.

74. He puts on his new triumphal apparel, which has been consecrated with the three verses : *Āyushyam varcasyam rāyasposham*, etc.¹

75, 76. He now goes to the other sacrificial eminence, and seats himself upon skins, which must be spread out, one above the other, in this order: 1st, a bull's skin; 2nd, a cat's; 3rd, an antelope's; 4th, a porcine deer's; 5th, a lion's skin; and 6th, a tiger's.

77. The court priest presents on the principal place an offering to Fire, made up of fuel, sesamum, ghee, etc., at the same time addressing prayers to Rudra, Indra, Brhaspati, Vishṇu, and the Wind.

78. The astrologer expounds the foretokens of the fire, in the manner indicated in the chapter on Indra's banner. All being finished, the court priest, joining his hands in supplication, says:

79. "All the multitudes of divine beings, now that they have received worship at the hands of the king, and bestowed on him unbounded success, may they depart to return another time!"

80. The monarch then honours the astrologer and court priest with many gifts; farther, such other persons as can claim rewards, Brahmans skilled in the ceremonial, and others, according to their deserts.

81. He must issue an amnesty to his people, relieve the victims in the slaughter places, and free the prisoners excepting those guilty of high treason.

82. A repeated performance of this ceremony at the time of the Moon's conjunction with Pushya makes pleasure, renown and wealth increase. When the same propitiating rite is performed at any other conjuncture, it will, according to ancient authorities, yield but half the (desired) results.

83. "The auspicious washing ceremony may be performed at a time when evil portents and calamities are afflicting the realm, at the time of eclipses, the appearing of a comet, and a planetary conflict.

¹ Vājasaneyi-S. 24, 50-52.

84. "There is no portent on earth that cannot be assuaged by it, and there is no solemnity that can excel it.

85. "This rite is very salutary at the king's inauguration, and also when he aspires to the rank of an emperor, or when he is longing for the birth of a son.

86. "It was for the sake of mighty Indra that Bṛhaspati, of world-wide fame, taught this extraordinary washing, which is conducive to long life, increase of progeny and popularity.

87. "He who in the same manner causes his horses and elephants to be washed, shall see those parts of his forces free from disease and attaining the highest efficiency."

CHAPTER XLIX.

Signs of Gold Diadems.

1. The lucky and unlucky signs of gold diadems that have been amply described by the Masters, are here enumerated by me, and that completely, though in a succinct manner.

2. The diadem of a king must, to be auspicious, have an expansion of eight digits in the middle; a queen's should, according to prescription, be seven digits; and a prince royal's, six.

3. The diadem of a commander of the troops has an expansion of four digits in the middle, and a diadem bestowed by way of royal favour¹ two. These are the five kinds of diadems known.

4. All have a length double of the expansion, whereas the expansion on both sides is half that of the middle. All should be wrought from pure gold for the sake of increasing bliss.

5. A royal diadem has five crests; a prince royal's, or

¹ Cf. Kathāsarit-Sāgara, ix. 54, 233:

ततः प्रविश्य नगरं वीरदेवबली च सः ।

अचिसेनापती पट्टं बद्ध्वा रत्नैरपूरयत् ॥

queen's, has three. A chief commander's diadem has one crest; a diadem bestowed as a mark of royal favour has none.

6. When the gold plate for the diadem in being wrought easily expands, it bodes success and victory to the king, and happiness to the people.

7. A flaw in the middle produces loss of life and kingdom. A diadem having a split in the middle must be cast away; one that shows a burst on the sides, gives trouble.

8. At the appearance of evil tokens, the diviner has to prescribe an expiation for the king. A diadem with auspicious signs is conducive to the weal of king and land.

CHAPTER L.

Signs of Swords.

1. A sword of the longest description measures fifty digits; the shortest is of twenty-five digits. A flaw on such a spot (of the sword) as corresponds with an odd number of digits, must be deemed ill-ominous.

2. Yet flaws resembling a Bilva-fruit, Vardhamāna-figure, umbrella, emblem of Īśva, earring, lotus, banner, weapon, or cross, are held auspicious.

3. Flaws shaped like a lizard, crow, heron, carrion bird, headless trunk or scorpion, and several flaws along the upper edge, are not lucky.

4. A sword that shows a chink, is too short, blunt, damaged at the upper edge, unpleasing to eye and mind, and without tone, is inauspicious. The reverse qualities forebode favourable results.

5. The rattling of a sword (of itself) is said to portend death; its not going out of the sheath (when drawn)¹ augurs defeat. There will be strife when the sword jumps out of the scabbard by itself, but victory when it is seen flaming.

6. The king ought not to unsheath it without reason, nor rub it, nor look at his own face in it, nor tell its price. He

¹ In the text we should read परजयायाग्रवर्तनं, as the Comm. has it.

should not mention the place whence it has come from, nor take its measure, nor, without precaution, touch the blade.¹

7. The most esteemed swords are those that are fashioned like a cow's tongue, a lotus-petal, a bambu-leaf, an oleander-leaf, rapiers and scimitars.

8. If a wrought sword proves too long, it may not be shortened by striking off a portion of it, but should be polished till it has the length required. The owner dies if a piece is struck off at the upper end, and his mother dies if the same is done at the point.

9. From a flaw on the hilt you may infer the existence of a corresponding flaw on the blade, just as you may conclude on seeing a mole in the face of a damsel, that there is another such in her hidden parts.

10. And by observing which part of the body is touched by a swordsman, when consulting the diviner, the latter will be able to indicate the place of the flaw on the sword in the scabbard, provided he (the diviner) knows the following rules.

11-15. If the man touches his head, the flaw is at the first digit; the second digit corresponds with the forehead; the third with the spot between the brows; the fourth with the eyes; the fifth with the nose; the sixth with the lips; the seventh with the cheeks; the eighth with the jaws; the ninth with the ears; the tenth with the neck; the eleventh with the shoulders; the twelfth with the breast; the thirteenth with the armpits; the fourteenth with the paps; the fifteenth with the heart; the sixteenth with the belly; the seventeenth with the loins; the eighteenth with the navel; the nineteenth with the abdomen; the twentieth with the hip; the twenty-first with the pudendum; the twenty-second with the thighs; the twenty-fourth with the knees; the twenty-fifth with the legs; the twenty-sixth with the part between the legs; the twenty-seventh with the ankles; the twenty-eighth with the heels; the twenty-ninth with the feet; the thirtieth with the toes: such is the theory of Garga.

¹ Cf. the passage from Parāçara as quoted in the foot-note on st. 24.

16-19. The consequences to be foretold from a flaw in the first, second, third digit, and so forth, up to the thirtieth digit, are as follows: death of a child, obtaining of wealth, loss of riches, good fortune, captivity, birth of a son, quarrels, acquiring of elephants, death of a child, acquiring of wealth, destruction, getting a wife, grief, gain, loss, getting a wife, death, prosperity, death, contentment, loss of wealth, acquiring of riches, death without salvation,¹ obtaining of wealth, death, good fortune, poverty, dominion, death, kingly power.

20. Upwards of the thirtieth digit no consequences are specified; in general, however, the flaws at the odd digits are injurious, at the even ones auspicious. But according to some authorities, the flaws from the thirtieth digit upwards to the sword's point are of no consequence at all.

21. A sword that smells like oleander, blue lotus, elephant's frontal juice, ghee, saffron, jessamine, or *Michelia champaka*, brings good luck; but ill-omened is one that has the odour of cow urine, mud, or fat.

22. A smell similar to that of tortoise blubber, blood, or potash, augurs danger and pain. A sword glittering like beryl, gold, and lightning, brings victory, health, and prosperity.

23. The fluid to imbrue a sword with, according to the precept of Uçanas, is: blood, if one wishes for a splendid fortune; ghee, if one is desirous to have a virtuous son; water, if one is longing for inexhaustible wealth.

24. An approved mixture to imbrue the sword with, in case of one desirous to attain his object by wicked means, is: milk from a mare, a camel, and elephant. A mixture of fish bile, deer-milk, horse-milk, and goat-milk, blended with toddy, will make the sword fit to cut an elephant's trunk.²

¹ The Comm. has *anirvāṇi*, and explains it by *mr̥tyu*.

² Comm. तथाच पराशरः ।

अथ पायनानि । चीरपायितमरिवधार्थी धारयेत् तिलतैलारना-
लाभ्यमर्थार्थी । पुत्रार्थदकेन । सर्पिषा श्रीकामः । साहसिकः शोणितेन ।
हस्त्यश्वाष्ट्रचीरैः शिलासारच्छेदकामो ज्वाचीरेण तालवंशयोर्मत्स्यव-
सावर्हिण्यपित्तेन द्विरदस्त्रच्छेदकामो नित्यञ्चैनं घृणपुष्पगन्धबन्धुपहा-

25. A sword, first rubbed with oil, and then imbrued with an unguent compounded of the milky juice of the Calotropis, goat's horn, ink, dung from doves and mice, and afterwards whetted, is fit for piercing stones.

26. An iron instrument imbrued with a stale mixture of potash of plantains with buttermilk, and properly whetted, will not get crooked on a stone, nor blunted on other iron instruments.

CHAPTER LI.

*Art of Soothsaying.*¹

1. The soothsayer must tell a consulting person's fortune by observing the latter's direction, utterances, place, what the same is taking into his hand, and which limb of his own or another's he is touching; conjointly with this the diviner should intelligently consider the time being. For Time, comprehending all that is movable and immovable, is all-knowing, all-seeing, and all-present, and shows to all who need it, the good and evil consequences through means of bodily motions and utterances.²

2. The place (of consultation) is favourable if it is level, covered with good grass, pleasing in the limpidity of its sweet water, covered with beautiful flowers or corn, frequented by Gods, Seers, Brahmans, virtuous men, and Blessed

रैरर्चयित्वा शिरस्युपशायिनं कुर्यान्नावमन्येत नचोच्छिष्टः संस्पृशेन्नादर्शिकुर्यान्नावनिमित्ते विवृणुयान्न क्रीडेन्नास्य मूल्यं ब्रूयादिति (v. 1. क्रोडितेनास्य मूल्यं विवृणुयादिति) ॥ Cf. st. 6.

¹ This chapter is probably spurious; see the remarks of the Comm. quoted in the Var. rr.

² The passage in Parāçara which has obviously served as the model, runs thus : इह खलु चराचराणां भूतानां कालो न्तरात्मा सर्वदा सर्वदर्शी शुभाशुभैस्तत्फलसूचकः । सविशेषेण प्राणिनां स्वपराङ्गेषु स्पर्शनादिकाकालव्याहारेङ्कितचेष्टादिभिर्निमित्तैः फलमभिदर्शयति । तत्प्रयतो दैवज्ञो नृपहतमतिरवधार्य स्वशास्त्रार्थमनुसृत्य यशोधर्मानुग्रहार्थमर्थिनां शुभाशुभानामर्थानां भावाभावमभिनिर्दिशेत् ॥

(inhabitants of Heaven), and if it is shadowed by trees of auspicious appellation, charming in their bloom, loaded with many fruits, possessed of sleek barks and leaves, and not occupied by ill-omened birds.¹

3. Not good is a place abounding with such trees as are cut, split, perforated by insects, thorny, scorched, rough, crooked, bearing unseemly² names, inhabited by ill-ominous birds, and covered with sear and withered leaves and barks.

4. Unfavourable also are: a cemetery, desolate shrine, crossway, a dismal rugged spot, an always brackish ground, a spot covered with sweepings, charcoal, potsherds, ashes, husks, or dry grass.

5. Bad is, besides, any place, when occupied by monks, naked friars, barbers, enemies, shackles, butchers, outcasts, gamblers, ascetics, or persons in distress; moreover, any place where weapons or spirits are being sold.³

6. East, north, and north-east are the directions⁴ of good augury to the consulting person; not so north-west, west, south, south-east and south-west. The favourable time is forenoon, not night, nor dawn, nor twilight, nor afternoon.⁵

7. The same good or evil tokens as expounded in the rules

¹ Comm. तथाच पराशरः

अथ पुष्पितफलितहरितस्निग्धत्वक्पत्रप्रशस्तेनामाकृतिसौम्यद्विजनिषेविततरुच्छाद्योगूढे सस्यकुसुमहरितमृदुशादलसितमृष्टहृदयप्रसन्नसलिलावकाशे (दिशे) देवर्षिसिद्धसाधुद्विजावासे प्राङ्मुखोत्तरमुत्तरपूर्वाभिमुखो वा यः पृच्छेत् तस्य प्रार्थितोपपत्तिर्भविनिर्दिशेत् ॥

² e.g. *vibhīṭaka*, *vetasa*.

³ Comm. तथाच पराशरः

क्षिन्नभिन्नशुष्करूक्षवक्रजन्तुजघकण्टकिक्कव्यादद्विजनिषेविताप्रशस्तेनामाङ्कितपादपच्छाये श्मशानशून्यायतनचत्वारोषररिपुनापितायुधमद्यविक्रयशालासु नैर्ऋताग्नेययाम्यवारुणवायव्याशाभिमुखः प्रचोदयेत् तस्येष्टमर्थमनर्थाय विद्यात् ॥

⁴ i.e. to be faced at.

⁵ Parāçara :

वेलाः सर्वाः प्रशस्यन्ते पूर्वाह्ने परिपृच्छताम् ।

सन्ध्ययोरपराह्णेतु क्षपायां तु (र. च) विगर्हिताः ॥

for journeys, must in this case be interpreted, and that from observing what object is placed before the inquirer, or seen in his hand, his coat, or what is being carried by the crowd.

8, 9, 10. The masculine¹ limbs are: thigh, lip, pap, testicle, foot, tooth, arm, hand, cheek, hair, throat, nail, thumb, temple, armpit, shoulder, ear, anus, and joint. Feminine are: brow, nose, buttock, wrinkles, hip, line of felicity in the palm, finger, tongue, neck, instep, ankle, leg, navel, margin of the ear, and hindpart of the neck. Neuter are: mouth, back, collarbone, knee, bone, side, heart, palate, eye, penis, breast, end of the spine, head and forehead. Touching of a limb of the first description, foreshows speedy results; touching of one of the second kind, denotes slow results; the touching of neuter limbs produces no effects whatever; nor do the other two, if they happen to be coarse, impaired, broken, or lean.

11. When the querist touches or moves his great toe, he is to suffer from eyesore; when he touches or moves a finger, one may announce sorrow on account of his daughter; when he strikes his head, there threatens danger from the king.

12. His touching the breast, presages separation; his taking off a piece of cloth from his body, denotes loss; when he pulls a piece of cloth closer to him, and joins foot to foot, he will get friends.

13. When he scratches the earth with his great toe, he is thinking of land; when he scratches his feet with the hand, his thoughts are fixed on a female slave.

14. If the man looks at a tál- or birch-leaf, he is thinking of muslin; if he is standing on glass, husks, bone, or ashes, sickness is soon to befall him; if he gazes on a string, net, or bark, captivity awaits him.

15, 16. Should he mention or see long pepper, black pepper, ginger, cyperus grass, lodh, costus, cloth, andropogon, cumin, spikenard, anise, and Tabernæmontana, one may foretell that his thoughts are engaged on the following subjects, severally: a wife's fault, a man's fault, a person in distress, loss of all,

¹ i.e. denoted by words of masculine gender.

missing of the road, loss of a child, of wealth, of grain, of a child, of bipeds, of quadrupeds, of land.

17. From his keeping in the hand a fruit of the Indian figtree, of Bassia, ebony-tree, roseapple, waved-leaved figtree, mango, and jujube,¹ it may be predicted that he is to acquire wealth, gold, men, iron, muslin, silver, and copper.

18. The sight of a dish filled with grain and a full water-pot, augurs the thriving of the family; excrements of an elephant, cow, or dog, denote the loss of wealth, women, or friends (severally).

19. On seeing cattle, an elephant, buffalo, lotus blossom, silver, or a tiger, the querist is destined to get a multitude of sheep, riches, garments, sandal, silk, or ornaments (successively).

20. When a fortune-teller is consulted by persons in the sight of a skull-wearing Āiava monk, they do so for the sake of friends or gambling; when in the sight of a friar of a decent order, their query concerns a courtesan, king, or wife in childbed.

21. The consultation being held in the sight of a Buddhist monk, a teacher, a Jaina monk, a naked mendicant friar, a diviner, a pedlar,² a fisher, it concerns a thief, a commander of the troops, a merchant, a female slave, a soldier, a shop-keeper, a condemned criminal.

22. From the sight of an ascetic is to be inferred that the inquirer is thinking of an absent person; he is thinking of cattle tending, if a vendor of liquors is in sight. From the

¹ To r. in the text जात, instead of जाति.

² That *nimitta* must be understood to mean *naimittika*, appears not only from the Commentary, but also from the corresponding passage of Parāçara's: निर्यन्त्यदर्शने दासीपृच्छां। वृद्धश्रावकदर्शने मित्रवृत्ततां वा। शाक्यस्य चौरकृतां। परिव्राजकस्य नृपसूतिकागणिकार्था वा। उपाध्यायस्य चमूपतिकृतां। नैगमस्य श्रेष्ठिकृतां। नैमित्तिकस्य योधार्था। अर्हन्तो वाणिज्यार्था। उज्ज्वलवृत्तीनां विपन्नार्था। तापसस्य प्रोषितार्था। शौण्डिकस्य पशुपालनार्था। कैवर्तस्य वधघातकृताम्. Remarkable in this passage is *va* after a compound, as if the component parts were separated.

sight of one busy with gleanings, you may conclude that mishap has befallen the querist.

23. The man using the expression : "I should like to ask," it denotes him to think of a meeting ; the expression "do, tell!" shows he is thinking of his household ; the words : "Master ! pray, look !" intimate the man to think of gain ; the expression "do, prophecy !" shows that he cares for dominion.

24. If he says, "inform me," his thoughts are bent on victory or travelling. Should he say : "examine, and tell my thoughts," then his care concerns a kinsman. If he suddenly rushes upon the diviner, who is standing among a crowd, with the word "look !" he is thinking of a thief.

25, 26. By an internal part of the body being touched, a member of the family is indicated to be the thief ; by an external part being touched, a stranger is indicated ; by a motion of the great toe, a slave is referred to ; by the other toes, a female slave ; by the legs, a domestic ; by the navel, a sister ; by the heart, one's own wife ; by touching the thumb, a son is denounced ; by the fingers, a daughter ; by the belly, one's mother ; by the head, one's father or uncle ; by the right arm, one's brother ; by the left arm, a brother's wife.

27, 28. Indications that the inquirer is not destined to recover the property stolen from him, are the following : if, after touching an internal part of the body, he takes to an external one ; or if he emits phlegm, urine, excrements ; or suffers something to drop from his hands ; or vehemently bends and stretches his limbs ; or if he descries people carrying empty vessels, or a thief ; or if ominous words are heard, such as "taken, fallen, impaired, forgotten, lost, broken, gone, stolen, dead," and the like.¹

29. The aforesaid signs, when combined with the sight of

¹ Comm. तथाच पराशरः

आभ्यन्तराङ्गं स्पृष्ट्वा बाह्यं स्पृशेन्निर्हरणं वा श्लेष्मपुरीषनस्थानां कुर्या-
ज्ज्ञात्वा किञ्चित्पातयेत् गात्राणि वा स्फोटयेत् चतुर्हृतपतितमुषितवि-
स्मृतनष्टदुष्टानिष्टभग्नतर्जिर्णशब्दप्रादुर्भावो वा स्यात् रिक्तभाण्डत-
स्काराणां दर्शने नष्टस्यात्वाभं विद्यात् ॥

husks, bones, poison, etc., or with the sound of weeping and sneezing, portend death to men attacked by illness. When the querist, on sharply touching an internal part of the body, breaks wind upwards, then you may foretell that he is satiated by having copiously dined.

30. From his touching the forehead and from seeing awns, you may infer boiled rice has been his food; from his touching the breast, king's rice; from his touching the neck, a preparation of barley.

31. If he touches his loins, paps, belly, or knees, he is sure to have eaten pease, milk, sesamum, or rice gruel. From his smacking and licking his lips, you may know that he has tasted something sweet.

32. By something loathsome,¹ he will stretch his tongue; by something sour, he will make a wry mouth; by something pungent, bitter, tart, or hot, he will hiccough, and by something salt, spit.

33. If he gives up phlegm, it is a sign that he has eaten something dry and bitter, and that in little quantity. The sound or sight of a carnivorous animal is a token of his having enjoyed fleshmeat; if he touches his brows, cheeks, or lips, he has eaten fowl.

34. His touching the head, throat, hair, jaw, temple, ear, leg, abdomen, proves him to have taken elephant's flesh, buffalo's flesh, mutton, pork, beef, hare's flesh, deer's flesh, mixed meat.

35. When an evil augury is seen or heard, you may foretell that he has eaten lizard's flesh and fish. In similar manner may, at the time of consultation, the deliverance of a pregnant woman be prognosticated.

36. Whether a male, female, or androgynous child is to take birth, is foreshown by something masculine, feminine, or neuter being seen, inferred, present, and touched. A happy deliverance is augured from the sight of drink, food, flowers, and fruits.

37. When a woman touches with the thumb her eyebrow,

¹ r. *visr̥kve*, as one MS. of the Comm. has it, instead of *vispr̥kve*.

belly, or finger, she is thinking of the child she expects ; so, too, when honey, ghee, gold, gems, corals, or the woman's mother, nurse, or children, are before her eyes.

38. Should a pregnant woman uphold her belly with her hand while an evil omen is seen, she will miscarry ; so, too, if she withdraws her belly from the pressure of the stool,¹ or joins one hand to the other.

39. When she touches the right nostril, you may foretell that she is to conceive next month ; when she touches the left nostril or the left ear, her pregnancy is to begin after two months ; when it is the right ear, two months will elapse before that occurrence ; and when it is the breasts, four months.

40. She will give birth to three sons and two daughters if it is the lower part of her hair-knot she touches ; five sons, if it is the ears ; three sons, if it is the hand. The thumb being touched, it denotes five sons ; the forefinger, four ; and so on in succession. The great toe and both ankles denote one daughter.

41. She is to be mother of a couple of girls or of boys according to her touching either the left or the right thigh, and the mother of four or three children according to her touching the middle or the end of her forehead.

42, 43. Head, forehead, brows, ears, cheeks, jaws, teeth, neck, right² shoulder, left shoulder, hands, chin, pipe of the lungs, breast, right pap, left pap, heart, right side, left side, belly, hip, joint of the holy bone, right thigh, left thigh, knees, legs, feet ; each of these parts of the body corresponds

¹ The translation is doubtful ; the corresponding passage in Parāçara has : पीठमर्दकं वान्तरा कृत्वा हस्तं कण्ठे दधत्तं हस्तेनाभिगृह्य वा पृच्छेत्. It is not clear what is meant, in this passage, with *pīthamardaka* ; apparently a cushion.

² It is most strange that in the foregoing stanza the word *śavya* is used in the acceptation of "left," but here of "right." The former passage is an imitation of Parāçara's words : दक्षिणोरुसंस्पर्शे द्वा पुत्रौ द्वेच कन्यके जनयिष्यसि । वामस्य तिस्रः कन्यका द्वौ पुत्रौ ; the latter passage has दक्षिणां प्राक्फलान्याम् । उत्तरायां वामे ॥

with one of the twenty-eight lunar asterisms beginning with Kṛttikā.¹

44. Herewith have we clearly expounded the prognostics from limbs being touched, after we had duly studied the authoritative works, with the view of attaining the results wished for. He who knows all this, and is not deficient in intelligence and alertness, shall always be honoured by the king and the multitude.

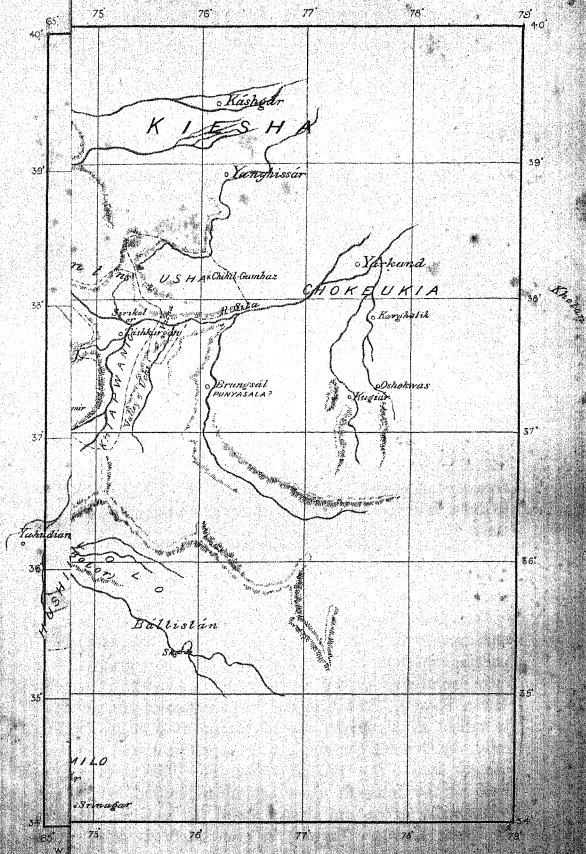
¹ Consequently the head being touched, the child will be born at Kṛttikā, and so on. Parāçara: शिरसि संस्पृष्टे कृत्तिकामु जन्म विद्यात् ।
जलाटे रोहिण्यां भ्रुवोर्मृगशिरसि । इ. आ. ।

(To be continued.)

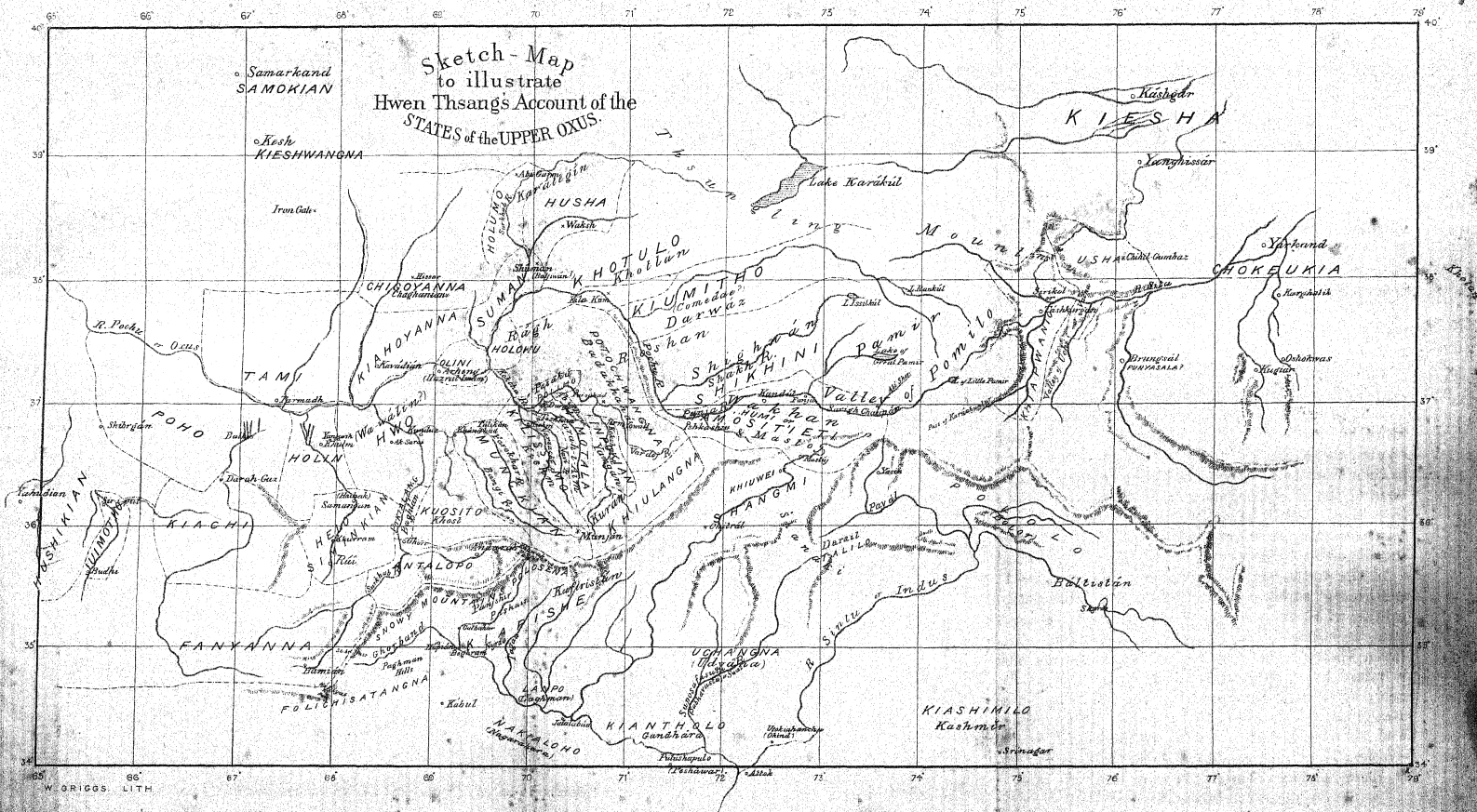
ART. V.—*Notes on Hwen Thsang's Account of the Principalities of Tokhāristān, in which some Previous Geographical Identifications are Reconsidered.* By Colonel H. YULE, C.B.

Recently engaged in compiling a Map of Badakhshān and the adjoining regions, to illustrate a paper for the Geographical Society, I have naturally been led to consider the interesting geographical details which the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang gives of those countries, as well as the current interpretations of his routes and localities. In several instances those interpretations seem to me open to amendment. The most eminent of Hwen Thsang's geographical illustrators are Major-General Cunningham and M. Vivien de St.-Martin; both of whom have dealt ably with the whole series of the Chinese Traveller's wanderings. If, after the careful study of a small part of these, I venture to differ from both accomplished commentators in regard to some of the identifications which concern that part only, I trust that I shall be guilty of no presumption. Recent documents, in part as yet unpublished, afford advantages for this discussion which were not available to my predecessors.

In the sketch-map that accompanies these notes I have endeavoured to lay down the limits of the different principalities, where these are not determined by the geographical facts, according to the approximate dimensions stated by Hwen Thsang. The *li* in which his estimates are reckoned is valued by M. Vivien de St.-Martin at $\frac{1}{2}$ of an English mile; by General Cunningham, as a practical road-measure, usually at $\frac{1}{4}$. But the circuit of the different States, as well as the intervals from capital to capital, which are occasionally given, are always stated (at least in this part of Hwen Thsang's Travels) in even hundreds of *li*. And



Sketch - Map
to illustrate
Hwen Thsang's Account of the
STATES of the UPPER OXUS.



my strong impression is, that in the cases with which we are dealing the expression "one hundred *li*" merely means "one day's journey." Who in those wild regions could supply the Traveller with estimates of measured distance round the circuit of a State? Any such estimates of extent would almost infallibly be expressed in days' journeys. I take up the very document which led me to the present subject, Pandit Manphúl's Report on Badakhshán, and I find that it begins with the information that "the length of this country is about 200 miles (sixteen stages), and its breadth about 150 miles (ten days' journey)." The rendering into miles here, for the benefit of the Pandit's English readers, is analogous to Hwen Thsang's *li*, but the fundamental datum is that of the number of marches. That the expression "one hundred *li*" has to this day, in certain parts of China, the meaning which I here assign to it, is attested by Colonel Sarel,¹ and I think that like testimony is given by some other recent traveller. The admission of this meaning would have saved some unprofitable criticism. Thus, Hwen Thsang gives 500 *li* as the distance between Nagarahára (say Jalálábád) and Purushapúra, or Pesháwar. General Cunningham is at pains to point this out as erroneous, because the distance measured by perambulator is a good deal more than 500 *li*, according to his valuation of the *li*.² But when we turn to an itinerary, *e.g.* Mullah Abdul Mejid's, we find that Jalálábád is just five marches from Pesháwar, or in Hwen Thsang's phraseology, as I understand it, 500 *li*. In laying down my boundaries I find that $4\frac{1}{2}$ such days' journeys (or, used in that sense, 450 *li*) to a degree of latitude gives as an average tolerably consistent results, and this scale has been used.

We shall begin from Samarkand.

(1). *Sa-mo-kian*, SAMARKAND (*Landresse*).³

¹ *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxxii., p. 11.

² *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 47.

³ Under the different localities, the name in *italics* is the transcription of the Chinese syllables adapted from M. Julien; that in *heavy type* their alphabetical equivalent as given by him; that in capitals the identification; and the name within parentheses that of the original authority for the identification. *Landresse* I can only quote through Cunningham.

I may remark that by later Chinese writers this famous city appears to be called *Tsinsssekan*, *Sihmisssekan*, and the like,¹ a form which also turns up in some medieval European documents. Thus, in papal bulls connected with the nomination of missionary bishops in 1328, one of these, Thomas of Mancasola, is appointed Bishop in Samarkand, in *civitate Semiscantensi*. The same form appears in the *Cimesquinte* of Gonzalez de Clavijo. This is explained by the statement of Al-Bírúni that in Turkish the city was called *Samezkand*, instead of Samarkand.²

(2). *Kie-shwang-na*, *Kaçanna*, *KESH* or *Shahr-Sabz* (*Cunningham*), at 300 *li* from Samarkand (three marches?). 200 *li* (two marches?) S.W. of this he enters a difficult hill-country, and after travelling 300 *li* (three days) in it, he reaches the Iron-Gate.

On passing the Iron-Gate the Traveller finds himself in (3) *Tu-ho-lo*, *Tukhára*, *TOKHÁRISTÁN* (*Landresse*), which extended 1000 *li* in latitude and 3000 in longitude (ten days' journey by thirty days), reaching from the frontiers of Persia to the *Thsung-ling* or Mountains of Pamir; whilst the great *Po-chu*, *Vach*, or *Oxus*, ran through the middle of it towards the west. For several centuries the Royal line had been extinct, and a variety of chiefs assuming the title of Prince had divided the land among them, so that the former Empire of *Tukhára* now constituted twenty-seven petty States, separated from each other by natural barriers. The whole of these States owned the supremacy of the Turkish Khan.

By the name of *Tuholo*, or *Tukhára*, *Hwen Thsang* undoubtedly denotes the *Yetha*, identical, as M. Vivien de St.-Martin has shown, with the *Haiáthalah* or *Ephthalites*. Yet the application of the name to them presents difficult questions.

It is indeed quite consistent with M. V. de St.-Martin's view that the *Yetha* were only in a new phase the *Yüéchi*,

¹ *Journ. Asiat.*, ser. vi., tom. ix., pp. 47, 70; *Deguignes*, iv., 49; *Gaubil*, *H. de Gentchiscan*, p. 87.

² *Cathay*, etc., p. 192; *Sprenger*, *Post und Reise Routen*, p. 20.

whose descent on Transoxiana and Bactria about B.C. 126 extinguished the Greek kingdom north of the Indian Caucasus. For the *Tochari* are mentioned by Strabo as main agents in that overthrow, and are placed by Ptolemy at a later date as a *great nation* in Bactria. And when we find Hwen Thsang, on his journey homewards, using the same name of *Tukhára* in connexion (as it would seem) with the original seats of the Yuéchi beside the Gobi Desert, it shows that he also regarded the Yuéchi as identical with the race whose predominance on the Oxus had recently been broken by the Turks, viz., the *Yetha* or *Haiáthalah*.

The name occurs in the *Mahábhárat* as that of a northern race; and Lassen, Ritter, and Vivien de St.-Martin concur in assigning these epic *Tukhára* to the mountains about the sources of Oxus and Jaxartes.¹ I cannot discover what determines this allocation, nor why these *Tukhára*, for *anything that is said of them in Lassen's quotations*, should not be placed further to the east, and identified even then with the race, of supposed Tibetan blood, which bore the name in later days after its migration to the banks of the Oxus.² A greater difficulty in the way of this supposition, (*viz.*, that the name always pertained to the Yuéchi as their Indian title), is the mention of the *Tochari* seven centuries before our era, in the clay-stamped *Annals of Senaccherib*, as a mountain-race invaded by that King; the same inscription commemorating an attack upon the *Dahae* as immediately following.³ If these readings are certain, it would seem that the true *Tochari* must for ages before the existence of the Greek Kingdom of Bactria have occupied seats to the westward

¹ Lassen, i., 852; Ritter, vii., 697; V. de St.-Martin in *N. Ann. des Voyages* for 1849, vol. 3, pp. 25-27. If Ritter were correct in bringing the *Tochari* or *Thogarii* (as the name is in Justin) into battle with the Parthians in B.C. 197, this would show them to have been in Transoxiana long before the fall of Greco-Bactria. But Ritter has here (the rarest of all things) made a mistake. The date belongs to the death of Artabanus II., not I., and should be 128, not 197 B.C.

² The fact, which Lassen notices, that the *Tukhára* brought to the Pandava king, among other presents, *furs, iron, and silk*, the three staples of the Seres, fits surely better to a people on the Khotan Frontier of China than to wild denizens of the buttresses of Pamir. (See Lassen, i., 848.)

³ *Journ. Royal As. Soc.*, vol. xix., p. 151. The *Tochari* are also represented from an Egyptian wall-sculpture by Sir G. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. iv., pp. 45-46.

of Imaus, and the circumstances that transferred the name to the Yetha are not easy to conceive.

Advancing to the Oxus, the Traveller arrives at (4) *Ta-mi*, or *TERMEDH* (*Cunningham*), one of the subdivisions of Tukhára, which had an extent of 600 *li* from east to west, and 400 from north to south (six days' journey by four).

(5). On the east it touched upon *Chi-go-yanna*, or *CHAGHÁNIÁN* (*Cunningham*), corresponding generally to the modern province of *Hissár*. This extended 400 *li* in longitude by 500 in latitude (four days by five).

(6). The next kingdom eastward was *Holumo*, having only one day's journey in breadth from east to west, and three in length from north to south. *Cunningham* suggests this to be *Hamurán* (written also *Hamudán*, *Hamdarán*, etc.), which in the old Arab geographies is the second stage between *Chagháníán* and *Wakhsh*; whilst *Vivien de St.-Martin* prefers *Hissár Shadumán*. Our knowledge of this region remains most vague and scanty, but our maps, on whatever authority, represent *Chagháníán* as considerably east of *Hissár*, a circumstance opposed to the latter view.

The form of the territory, narrow in proportion to length, indicates that it is probably a river-valley; and in the position assigned, the river can scarcely be other than the northern *Surkh-áb*, or *Karategín* branch of the Oxus. I suspect that the name *Holumo* represents *GARMA*. *AB-I-GARM* is one of the lower districts of *Karategín*, and *GARMA* is also a name applied to the chief place of that principality. The latter, however, seems to be too distant, unless the three days' length be an under-statement.¹

(7). The next kingdom eastward is *Suman*, the *SUMÁN* or *SHUMÁN* of the Arab geographies (*Cunningham*). This kingdom according to *Hwen Thsang* was 400 *li* (four days' journey) from east to west, and 100 only from north to south. Towards the S.W. it lay upon the Oxus, and it extended to a kingdom called (8) *Kio-ho-yanna*, *Kuvayana*, measuring

¹ See a recent paper on *Karategín* from the Russian in the Proceedings of the R. G. S. *Meyendorff*, however, applies the title of Khan of *Ab-i-Garm* to the chief of *Karategín*.

two days' journey by three. This M.V. de St.-Martin takes for *Karategin*, but nothing in the translation carries us in that direction, and it may more naturally be identified with *KUVÁDIÁN*.

Shumán is placed by the Arabian itineraries 22 *farsakhs* from Chagháníán. I should judge it to have been near, if not identical with, the modern town of Baljiwán or Kuláb.

(9). East of Shumán was *Husha*, extending three days' journey (300 *li*) from east to west, and five from north to south. This Cunningham, rightly as I think, identifies with *Wakhsh*. M. de St.-Martin interprets it as Ush in Farghána—a long stride indeed! But the name of the next province seems enough to settle the question.

(10). *Khotulo*, KHOTL or Khotlán (*Cunningham*). This was about 1000 *li* (ten days' journey) either way. On the east it came in contact with the *Thsungling* or mountains buttressing Pamir, and extended to No. 11.

Another ancient notice of Khotl preserved by Matwanlin, and cited by Rémusat and Klaproth, mentions the rock-salt which is still a production of Kuláb, and calls the capital *Sse-tsu-kian* or *San-tsu-kian* (P).

(11). *Kiu-mi-tho*, Kumidha. This kingdom was some 20 days' journey (2000 *li*) from east to west, and two days from north to south, lying among the Thsungling mountains. On the S.W. it adjoined the Oxus; on the south it was in contact with the kingdom of *Shikhini* or SHIGHNÁN. The state of *Kiumi* is also mentioned along with *Shikhini* and *Humi* (see No. 33) in the historical extracts of Abel Rémusat, as sending tribute to China in the 7th century.¹ Major General Cunningham, though not giving any specific modern identification of this State, most happily connects it with the *Comedae* of Ptolemy, who inhabited the hill-country east of Bactriana, and up whose valley lay the route of the caravans from Bactra, bound for Serica across Imaus or the Thsungling. The proportions of length and breadth ascribed to the territory of *Kiumitho*, 20 by 2, show that a valley is in question.

¹ See "*Extension de l'Empire Chinois du côté de l'Occident*," in *Mem. de l'Ac. des Inscr.*, tom. viii. p. 93.

The passage in Ptolemy just alluded to is one of the most notable in regard to the geography of Inner Asia of all that have come down to us from classic times. There can be little doubt that Gen. Cunningham's identification of *Kiumitho* with the *Comedae* is well founded, and we could scarcely desire a more precise definition of their position than Hwen Thsang has here given us. "They lay to the eastward of Khotl, among the roots of Pamir, to the northward of Shighnán, and had the Oxus on their south-west." Nor could words more exactly define the position, so far as we know it, of the existing principalities of DARWÁZ and ROSHÁN.

The old Arabian geographers do not mention the state of Darwáz by that name. But they tell us that four days beyond Washjird there was a place called *Rásht*, forming the extreme frontier of Khorasan in that direction. It stood in a narrow valley among the mountains, by which the Turks in ancient days used to come down on their forays. Fadhl the son of Yahya, the Barmecide, towards the end of the second century of Islám, caused a barrier to be constructed on this pass, which long continued to be garrisoned.¹

I suspect that this *Rásht* or *Rásit* is the place which thus acquired the name of Darwáz or the Gate. If this be right, then the valley of the *Comedae*, up which the ancient caravans travelled eastward for silk, the Valley of *Rásht* down which the Turks came to plunder in the 8th century, and the Darwáz of our maps are all identical. Nay, it is possible that in the name of the chief place of modern Darwáz, *Kala' Kúm*, we have a surviving trace of the old inhabitants, the *Kumidha* or *Comedae*, and that the name *Rásht*, if we were certain of its true form, might prove to be identical with *Roshán*.²

¹ See *Ibn Khordādhbih* in *Journ. Asiat.*, ser. vi., tom. v. p. 270; *Edrisi*, i., 483; *Sprenger*, p. 44. Reinaud puts the date about A.D. 794 (*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 161). He mentions moreover that the barrier was called *Al-Bab*.

² We know nothing of the passes which descend from Pamir to Roshán and Darwáz except that there are such. It is probable that the *Vallis Comedaram* may be that of the great Oxus tributary from Pamir which joins the Panja at Bartang on the borders of Roshán and Darwáz. As some perplexity has arisen about Darwáz from the position assigned to "*Darwāzi*" territory in the Itinerary of Abdul Mejid between Kokan and Kuláb, I may call attention to a passage in

We now return to the western part of Tokháristán, and to the Traveller's actual route.

(12). On leaving Termedh, and crossing the Oxus, he proceeded to *Hwo*, which was a principality in the immediate hands of the eldest son of the Khan of the Turks, who was a kind of governor-general over all the petty kingdoms of Tukhára. *Hwo* is described as a country having a circuit of 3000 *li* or 30 marches. The territory was level, the vegetation of extraordinary vigour, the climate mild. The mountains of Thsungling terminated on its eastern frontier. In another passage it is stated that *Hwo* adjoined the Oxus, and that its capital "stood on the eastern bank of the river."¹

Cunningham thinks *Hwo* is probably KHULM; Vivien de St.-Martin is quite clear that it is GHORI. I agree with the latter that Khulm appears in the Itinerary under another name (see No. 15), but I must differ with him as to the identification of *Hwo* with Ghorí. Both the character ascribed to the country and the position of *Hwo* in relation to the Oxus and to other principalities preclude this view. To the south-east of *Hwo* lay *Kuosito* and *Antalopo*, i.e. KHOST and ANDARÁB; to the south-west lay *Pokialang* or BAGHLÁN. How is it possible to reconcile these indications with the position of Ghorí? Yet they are mutually in perfect consistence, and point as so many compass-bearings to the vicinity of KUNDUZ.

The same name that is here given as *Hwo* appears to be rendered in one of Rémusat's extracts as *Ahwan*. The place so called was, in the vain-glorious organization of those western regions by the Thang Emperors of China, about A.D. 660, constituted the chief seat of the government of

Mr. Wathen's paper on Kokan in vol. iii. of the *Journ. Asiat. Soc., Bengal*, p. 373. This paper, compiled in 1834 from the information afforded by a Wazir of Kokan, states that on the death of the last prince of Karategin (claiming, like so many others of the old dynasties of Tokháristán, to be descended from Alexander), his sons having fought for the succession, the kingdom fell a prey to the Prince of Darwáz, and was still under his rule. The same authority had given Badakhshán, Karategin, and Darwáz, as the boundaries of Kokan on the south-east. Putting these things together, it seems easy to account for the continued existence of Darwáz authority so far north of the Oxus as Abdul Mejid puts it, without the necessity of supposing that there is another Darwáz besides that on the Oxus.

¹ *Vie et Voyages de H. T.*, p. 268. It is there called *Kowo* (or *Kwo*).

Tukhára, under the official name of *Yueichi-fu*, with 24 or 26 *chéu* under it, which no doubt answered to Hwen Thsang's 27 principalities.¹ But where was it?

Kunduz itself does not appear in the older Arab geographies. The place of note nearest to it in those older writers is *Warwálin* or WAWÁLIN. Under the latter form the name has been read by Mr. Edward Thomas as that of the Mint-city on several coins of Mahmúd of Ghazni and his successors.² Its exact position cannot be assigned, for no modern trace of the name has yet been discovered. But the indication that it lay equidistant between Khulm and Táyikán³ (or Tálíkán) brings its position within tolerably narrow limits, pointing again to the vicinity of Kunduz. It is possible that the first part of the name *Warwálin* may be represented by *Hwo*; but however that may be, I have little doubt that *Hwo* stands for the ancient province corresponding to Kunduz, and probably also to Wawálin.

We have no information indeed that enables us to explain the statement that it stood on the eastern bank of the river, if by that expression the Oxus be meant. But the Oxus has no *eastern* bank in this vicinity, and if the original language may admit of the word *river* here being indefinite, this might refer to the position of Kunduz on the eastern bank of the Surkháb. In all other respects the position of Kunduz answers; the soil is flat, moist, and rank in vegetation; the mountains which rise to the eastward of the plain have no interruption till they sink into the plains of Yarkand; Khost and Andaráb lie to the south-east, Baghlán to the south-west; and the State described as lying nearly to the north of *Hwo* admits of satisfactory identification.⁴

(13). South-west of *Hwo* was *Pokialang*, or BAGHLÁN (*Cunningham*); a small kingdom extending only 200 *li* or

¹ The very name applied to the seat of government shows that the Chinese considered Yueichi = Tukhára. Both *Ahwan* and *Hwo* recall the *Choana* of Ptolemy in the same region. Compare the analogous name of *Artakocane*, capital of Aria.

² See *Journ. R.A.S.* xvii., p. 184.

³ See *Sprenger*, p. 44. In *Edrisi* (i., pp. 474-5) Khulm is omitted, and Warwálin becomes only two days from *Balkh*.

⁴ See under No. 25.

two marches from north to south, and half a march from east to west; dimensions which (as M. de St.-Martin notices) point to the valley of the (southern) Surkháb, in which Baghlán stands.

(14). Southward, Baghlán touched upon *He-lu-si-min-kian*, Hrosminkan, which had a circuit of ten days' journey (1000 *li*). The last part of the name M. de St.-Martin is certainly right in identifying with the SAMANJÁN of the Arab geographers, mentioned also in the History of Taimur, and which in Persian legend was the residence of the lady loved by Rustam and the birthplace of her son Sohrab. This we learn from Moorcroft to be identical with Haibak in the valley of the Khulm River.¹ The *Helu*, or Hro, may probably stand for RÚÍ in the upper part of the same valley, and we shall then have in the entire designation one of those copulate names so popular in Asia, RÚÍ-SAMANGÁN.² This too would account for the southerly direction assigned to the territory in question; for Haibak itself lies nearly due west of Baghlán.

(15). Northward of *Helu-siminkian* was *Ho-lin*, or KHULM (*Vivien de St.-Martin*). The circuit was about ten marches (1000 *li*).

(16). West of *Holín* was *Poho* or *Poholo*, BALKH (*Cunningham*), the extent of which was eight marches (800 *li*) from east to west, and four days (400 *li*) from north to south.³

(17). To the S.W. of Balkh was *Jui-mo-tho*, Jumadha, a small State only 50 *li* by 100, which Cunningham suggests to be Maimunah or Yahúdiah. But Yahúdiah is reckoned by the Geographers to be the chief city of the next State; and can scarcely be described as "lying among the spurs of the snowy mountains." A position somewhere near Sir-i-pul

¹ *Travels*, ii., 402.

² *Rúi* is mentioned by an early Arabian geographer, Mokaddasi (see *Sprenger*, p. 37). At least I presume that رُوب *Rúb*, which appears between Samangán and Baghlán, is an error for رُوي *Rúi*.

³ In *Sprenger's* Map, No. 5, after Biráni, attached to Balkh is the remark, "The old name is بَاقِي." If this be *Báqi* or *Báka*, it might explain the form *Poho*.

seems indicated; to the south of which, near BÚDHI, Ferrier found ruins, sculptures, and inscriptions.¹

(18). Beyond this little State was *Hu-shi-kian*, Hujkan, GÚZGÁNA or Júzgána (*V. de St.-Martin*), of which the capital was Yahúdiah. Its extent was five days' journey by ten days (500 *li* by 1000).

(19). N.W. of the last was *Ta-la-kian*, TÁLIKÁN (*Cunningham*); i.e., the more westerly of the two places on the Khorasan frontier so called. This kingdom extended 500 *li* by 50 or 60, no doubt in the valley of the Murgháb. It has recently been suggested that the name of this place is a memorial of the *Haiáthalah* or Ephthalites. During the original Arab conquest of Khorasan it is stated that the Persians and Haiáthalah defending themselves at TÁLIKÁN were succoured by the Turks and the *Saghánian* (or Chaghánian).² This illustrates the probable origin of numerous local names on that frontier ending in -án, as originally gentile plurals.

(20). Returning to Balkh, the Traveller goes about 100 *li* (one day's journey) south, and arrives at the hilly and somewhat barren kingdom of *Kia-chi*, Gachi. This I apprehend to be the Darah or Valley of GAZ. Darah-Gaz will be found in Macartney's Map to Elphinstone, in the Map to Ferrier's Travels, etc., about one march south of Balkh. Ibn Haukal also states that the hill-country south of Balkh is called *Gaz*. Darah Gaz is mentioned in Taimur's Institutes, and it was the scene of a rout of Humayún's little army by the Uzbeks in 1549.³

South-east of this the Traveller enters a country of lofty and rugged mountains, of frost and snow. Such mountains find no indication on any map known to me, not even on that attached to General Ferrier's journey. Yet that officer, the only modern traveller who has passed athwart the hill-country between the Khulm and Balkh Rivers, describes his crossing, immediately west of Kurram, lofty mountains, the

¹ *Caravan Journeys*, pp. 229-230.

² See *M. Garvez in Journ. As.*, ser. vi., tom. xiii., pp. 175-179.

³ *J. A. S. Bengal*, xxii., p. 164; *Timoor's Institutes*, p. 59; *Erskine's Baber and Humayun*, ii., pp. 373-6.

summits covered with snow in *July*, and with the cold of January at that season.¹

(21). After travelling six days (600 *li*), Hwen Thsang quits Tokháristán, and reaches the kingdom of *Fanyanna* or *BÁMIÁN* (*Landresse*). This kingdom extends twenty days' journey from east to west, and three from north to south (2000 *li* and 300 *li*), the latter estimate being probably from Saighán to the Hajjiyak Pass. The capital rested on the flanks of two opposite mountains, and extended across the intervening valley. Hence it would seem to have occupied much the same position as the modern village of Bamian, and not that of the ruined city on the hill-top south of the valley which is called in Wood's map *Ghulgula*.

From Bamian the Traveller departed eastward, entered the defiles of the Snowy Mountains (the Hindu Kúsh), which he crossed most probably by the Shibr Kotal, so often mentioned by Baber, and which seems to lie about due east of Bamian.² He then traverses the "Black Mountains," here probably a part of the Paghmán Range, and reaches *Kia-pi-she*, *Kapica*. M. de St.-Martin has shown good reason for supposing that this kingdom lay east of the Panjshir or Barán River, and as the large circuit of forty days' journey is assigned to it, it probably embraced the valleys of Nijrao and Tagao, with some considerable part of Kafristán; but this is beyond the territory with which these notes are dealing.³

The pilgrim on his return journey, some fourteen years later, travels in five marches (500 *li*) from *Hosina* or Ghazni

¹ *Caravan Journeys*, p 217. The statement is a little vague, but the height implied can scarcely be less than 11,000 feet.

² Baber calls it *Shibértá*, but it is not to be confounded with a high-level valley of that name to the west of Bamian, which was passed by Arthur Conolly on his journey from Kabul to Khorasan in 1840. I made this mistake in *Cathay*, p. 592.

³ One is tempted to seek some connexion with the name *Kapisha* in that of the Pashais, whose especial country this is. General Cunningham quotes the capital of *Kapica* as being 600 *li* from Bamian; but there is no such datum in either of the two works on Hwen Thsang's journey. He also makes *Hupina* or *Hupían* identical with this capital of *Kapica*, and I do not think that one could discover from his discussion of the question that Hwen Thsang represents *Hupina* as the capital of a distinct kingdom, governed by a king of a different race. (See *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 18 et seqq.)

to *Hu-pi-na* or HUPIÂN, capital of *Fo-li-shi-si-tang-na*,¹ and thence, starting eastward, immediately enters Kapiça, proceeds north-east through a city called *Kiu-lu-sa-pang*,² and passing a number of other small towns on the borders of Kapiça, reaches a very lofty pass over a part of the great Snowy Mountains, called *Po-lo-se-na*.³

There are several passes across the Hindu Kúsh from the Panjshir Valley, and this might be almost any one of them. But if the time is given correctly in the *Life*,⁴ as fourteen days from Kapiça, the Pass traversed must have been the most remote, i.e. the Pass of Khawák at the very head of the valley.

(22). After three days' descent from the Pass the Traveller reaches *An-ta-lo-po*, Antarava, or ANDARÁB (*Lassen*). This State was thirty days' journey (3000 *li*) in circuit, consisting of narrow valleys amid mountain chains, with a cold climate and bitter winds, but productive in corn, fruit, and flowers. Though it is not possible to give the province all the extent of circuit ascribed to it, there is no room for question as to its identity.

(23). Passing out of Andaráb to the north-west the Traveller enters a valley, crosses a mountain pass, passes through some villages, and after about 400 *li* (four days' travelling) he reaches the kingdom of *Kuosito* or KHOST (*V. de St.-Martin*); a region of mountains and narrow valleys, subject to icy winds, but like Andaráb productive in crops of grain and fruit. A circuit of thirty days' journey (3000 *li*) is ascribed

¹ M. V. de St.-Martin makes this *Vardasthāna*, which would be convincing if it answered better to the Chinese phonetics. The *Pardehis* whom Baber mentions among the races of Kabul suggest the possibility of *Pardehisthāna* (see *Baber*, p. 140).

² *Vie et Voyages*, p. 266. The position where the Traveller halts in Kapiça is too uncertain to guide us to this city. We find a resemblance to the first part of the name in *Gul-bahār* at the mouth of the Panjshir Valley, a favourite hunting-ground of Baber's. The term *bahār* seems also to point to Buddhist antiquity (*vihāra*).

³ The *Parasana* of Ptolemy, a name very like *Polosena* certainly, is somewhere in this direction; all that one can venture to say of Ptolemy's localities with all their elaborate statements of co-ordinates, unless they are determined by other indications. *Panshir* itself may be formed from *Parasena*, by a like metathesis to that which in the same region has made *Laghman* and *Paghmán* out of *Langhan* and *Pamghán*.

⁴ *Vie et Voyages*, p. 266.

to this State. It is not clear whether the name of Khost is still used, for I have not seen it in any recent documents, though at the time of Elphinstone's journey it was apparently in some degree still current. Its general position is not doubtful, and is quite in accordance with Hwen Thsang's indications. But no modern traveller has been in the district, and it does not afford the name of a single town to our maps, unless Nárín may have belonged to it. From Khost he travels again north-west, and after a journey of 300 *li* (three marches) reaches *Hwo*, already spoken of.

(24). Thence he goes 100 *li*¹ eastward, and reaches the kingdom of *Mungkien*, *Munkan*. This State was about forty days' journey (4000 *li*) in circuit, and as regarded products and character it closely resembled *Hwo*. It was therefore, at least in the part visited by the Traveller, a fertile plain. But no region in this quarter, of anything like forty days' journey round, could be *all* of that character.

Cunningham, having located *Hwo* at Khulm, places *Munkan* at *Yanghárik* a few miles east of Khulm, at which there are (he says) the ruins of an ancient town. M. V. de St.-Martin identifies it with MUNGÁN or MUNJÁN, a place which appears in Macartney's map,² and which we know from Pandit Manphúl's Report to be still a feudatory province under Badakhshán, on the slopes of the Hindu Kúsh.

The names are so absolutely identical that I think in some manner the provinces must be identified. But the locality described by Hwen Thsang, both from its characteristics and from its position in regard to the States which precede and follow it in the Itinerary, must have lain in the vicinity of the modern Khánabád or Tálíkán rather than of the present Munján. My map shows how I propose to reconcile this. I imagine the Mungán of our Traveller to have embraced not only the present Munján, the position of which

¹ It is in apparent contradiction to my view above stated of the meaning of this expression that in the *Life and Travels* (vol. i. of Julien, p. 268) Hwen Thsang is stated to have been *two* days on the journey from Hwo to Munkan, along with a party of merchants and an escort of soldiers. There are, however, many discrepancies between the *Life* and the *Memoirs on the Western Countries*.

² See also *Wood*, p. 294.

we can only indicate very approximately, but the whole valley of the Bangi River down to the plains of Tálíkán and Khánábád.¹ This is not only conformable to the customary coincidence of the political divisions of that country with the *darahs* or valleys, but it is also the only way in which we can easily conceive of the introduction of a State of anything like forty days' compass in the position assigned to this one, *i.e.*, with the capital of the preceding State only one march to the westward, and that of the following State (see No. 27) only three marches to the eastward.

(25). North of *Munkan* lay *O-li-ni*, Arni or Alni (say, rather Arini). This little State, which was only three days' journey in circuit, lay upon both sides of the Oxus, and as regarded products, etc., strongly resembled *Hwo*. It was therefore in all probability a watered plain, as indeed we might suppose from its position on the Great River.

Cunningham considers this to be undoubtedly *Wawálin*, or *Wálin* as he quotes the name from Ouseley. V. de St.-Martin doubts this, but considers that we have no data for determining the identification.

But if *Munkan* lay, as I have shown, near Khánábád and Tálíkán, the State north of this and astride upon the Oxus must have been close to Hazrat Imám. Now this place and its district formerly bore the name of AHRENG, or *Arheng*. I derive the fact from a brief but interesting article on Badakhshán published, long before Burnes's journey, in the *Oriental Quarterly Magazine* of Calcutta, edited by the late Prof. H. H. Wilson.² The name is however also to be found in the History of Taimúr, written by Pétis de la Croix as *Arhenk*; and in Taimur's Institutes as *Arhang*.³ Here assuredly we have *Olini*.

(26). The next kingdom lay immediately to the eastward of *Olini*, and was called *Holohu*, Rohu or Roh according to

¹ Possibly the name of the *Bangi* may have some connexion with that of *Mungán*. Faiz Bakhsh calls the Mungán dialect *Mungi*.

² I am obliged however to quote from a French version in the *N. Ann. des Voyages*, vol. 26.

³ *H. de Tímour*, vol. i. pp. 172, 175; *Institutes*, p. 91. It may also be the *Arhan* Ferry of the old geographers (in *Sprenger*, p. 45), but the data there are too obscure.

M. Julien's systematic transcription. This also in character resembled *Hwo*. Its northern boundary was on the Oxus; its circuit was but two days' journey (200 *li*). In spite of these very narrow limits, which are possibly erroneous, or were temporary, we may confidently identify this with RÁGH, still an important fief of Badakhshán, between the Kokcha and the Oxus. A learned critic in the *Edinburgh Review* for January of this year considers *Ragh* to be the *Ranga* of primitive Aryan tradition.

(27). The Traveller's expressions show that he had not visited the two last-mentioned principalities. His route from *Munkan*, which may be practically identified with TÁLIKÁN, led him about three days' journey (300 *li*) eastward, over high mountain passes and deep valleys, to the kingdom of *Ki-li-se-mo*; Kharism as transcribed by M. Julien, but which by his own systematic dictionary¹ might at least as well be read *Krishma*. It resembled *Munkan* in character of products; it was (1000 *li*) ten days' journey from east to west, and three from north to south.

Cunningham, whose point of departure on this line still keeps him, as it seems to me, too far west, identifies this with TÁLIKÁN. M. V. de St.-Martin, erring in the opposite direction, sees in it *ISH-KASHM*, at the lower end of the valley of Wakhán. I can only see in it the once well-known *KISHM* or *Kāshm*, the Province of *Casem* of Marco Polo three days from TÁLIKÁN, which is still an important fief of Badakhshán, as we know from Pandit Manphúl. The long narrow form ascribed to the State indicates that it consisted of a long valley, or perhaps of two parallel valleys. These would be the valleys of the Mashhad or Varsach River, on which *Kishm* stands, and of the adjoining river *Návi*.

(28). North-east of *Krishma*, but not in the line of the Traveller's journey, lay a small kingdom called *Po-li-ho* or *Pi-li*, in character resembling the last, but only extending 100 *li* by 300. Cunningham thinks this may be the ruined city which Wood found near the Kokcha confluence, called by the people Barbara. De St.-Martin takes it for the somewhat mythical *Bolor*.

¹ See Nos. 546, 825, 1554, 1148.

The transcription is rendered by Julien doubtfully as *Priha*; but by his system it might be *Parika* or the like. From its relation to *Kishm* it must have lain either immediately on the south bank of the *Kokcha* or just beyond that river. In the latter case it would lie between *Rosták* and *Faizábád*, where now exists the province of *PASÁKÚ* or *SHAHR-I-BUZURG*.¹

(29). Leaving *Krishma* or *Kishm*, the Pilgrim crossed mountains and valleys, and after marching about 300 *li* (three days) towards the east reached the kingdom of *Hi-mo-ta-lo*, *Himatala* (possibly, however, *Himadara*). This had a circuit of 30 days' journey (3000 *li*); it was much cut up by mountains and valleys; the soil was rich, adapted to agriculture, and produced much late wheat. All plants thrive, and every kind of fruit was abundant. The climate was cold. There were a good many forts in the country, each with a chief of its own. The people were nomad, using tents of felt.

Considering that this principality lay immediately east of *Kishm*, and was immediately succeeded in the same direction by that of *Badakhshán* Proper, there is no great room for doubt as to its geographical identity. Cunningham guided by the latter reason points to the vicinity of *TESHKAN*. But this is too near *Kishm*. A little further east we shall, I believe, find a trace of the old name in that of one of the still existing feudatory provinces of *Badakhshán*, *DARÁIM*, or as *Faiz Bakhsh*² gives it *DARAH-I-AIM*. It seems to me in the highest degree probable that *Himatala* or *Hima-darah*, *Darah-him*, *DARÁIM*, are forms of the same name, which may possibly indicate that the valley had been settled by the *Hieumi* or *Hima* tribe of the *Yuechi*. *Daraim* proper Wood describes as "a valley scarce a bow-shot across, but watered as all the valleys in *Badakhshán* are, by a beautiful stream of purest water, and bordered wherever there is soil by soft velvet turf." But the province or *mír*-ship of *Daraim* is

¹ *Pasaku* may be a genuine relic of a name like *Parika*; compare *Samarkand*, *Samarkand*, *Kanerkas*, *Kanishka*, etc.

² *Faiz Bakhsh* is a very intelligent person, who travelled in 1870 from *Kabul* to *Kashgar*, under instructions from Mr. Douglas Forsyth, C.B.

stated by Pandit Manphúl to be one of the most populous and fertile of the 15 feudatory provinces which he details as acknowledging the supremacy of the Mír of Badakhshán residing at Faizábád. And the very circumstance that such a fief subsists is in itself a fact of weight, considering with what singular persistence the political divisions of that country seem to have retained their identity.

The position which Hwen Thsang indicates, probably as the chief place of the province, must however have been further east than the spot where the modern road to Faizábád passes the Kila' i-Daraim.

(30). The Traveller, after a further journey east of 200 *li* or two marches, reaches *Po-to-chwang-na* or BADAKHSHÁN (*Cunningham*). This is described as having a circuit of 20 days' journey (2000 *li*). The capital was built on the flank of a mountain.¹ This kingdom was much cut up by mountains and valleys, and also contained extensive deserts of sand. The soil was well suited to the culture of wheat and pulse, and there was a great harvest of grapes, walnuts, pears, plums, etc. The climate was cold.

We do not know the position of the capital of Badakhshán at that epoch. All that we do know is that the present capital, Faizábád, was founded or adopted as such in modern times. Previous to that event, according to Pandit Manphúl, the capital of Badakhshán was situated in the plain of Baharak some 20 miles further east. But whether it stood there in the 7th century we cannot tell. Some things in the indications of our text would suit the position of Faizábád well,² and it is of course quite possible that the modern occupation of that site was the *re*-occupation of an old one. We seem, however, from other data, to require a position further east than Faizábád. The Traveller has made 900 *li*, or as I interpret it nine marches from *Hwo*. The old Arab itineraries also make nine marches from Wawálin (which I take

¹ M. V. de St.-Martin says (iii. 424), "sur une montagne escarpée," but I do not find this particular in the translation.

² Thus the old citadel of Faizábád, called *Zagharchi*, stood on a rock on the left bank, overlooking the town and commanding the defile up stream (Wood and Manphúl). See also the remarks under No. 31.

for *Hwo*) to Badakhshán city,¹ and seven from Tálíkán to the same. Marco Polo makes six from Tálíkán to Badakhshán. Wood and Faiz Baksh make only five from Kunduz (taking that as an approximate representative of Wawálin) to Faizábád. Their marches are long, but still the number of days assigned in the old itineraries points to a position more distant than Faizábád.

(31). The Traveller quitting Badakhshán crosses the mountains for 200 *li* (two days) and reaches the kingdom of *In-pokhán*, Invakan according to M. Julien's transcription. This kingdom had a circuit of ten days (1000 *li*). The mountains were close together, and the valleys and cultivated lands were consequently restricted. The climate and the people resembled in a general way those of Badakhshán, but the language was a little different.

Cunningham locates this State at the *Fowall* of Wood, *Yomall* of later native travellers, on the Vardoj River. De St.-Martin identifies it with Wakhán, but, to do so, arbitrarily alters the orientation of the itinerary.

Direction and distance, however, antecedent and consequent, point not to Wakhán, but to YANGÁN or HAMAKÁN, the old name of the valley of the Kokcha from Jerm upwards, as we learn from Manphúl, and incidentally from Faiz Bakhsh. The name occurs in a Persian work quoted by Quatremère,² but its position was, I believe, till very lately unknown.

Supposing *Jerm* to be the point of Yangán intended, the two days' march, the south-easterly direction, and the journey over the hills, would suit better some site near Faizábád as the point of departure than that in the plain of Baharak.

(32). After proceeding further to the south-east for three marches (300 *li*) by narrow and dangerous paths, Hwen Thsang arrives at the kingdom of *Khiu-lang-na*, or Kurána. This had a circuit of some twenty days' journey (2000 *li*). In characteristics it resembled *Inpokian*. There were caverns (or mines) in the mountains, whence much pure gold was

¹ See Sprenger, p. 44.

² See *Notices et Extraits*, vol. xiv., part i., p. 490.

extracted. This was imbedded in the rock, which had to be crushed in order to get the gold.

Cunningham identifies the position and name with *Firganu* (which should, however, be *Firgamu*, see Wood, pp. 262, 266). V. de St.-Martin suggests the district of *Ghárán* (or "the Mines") on the Upper Oxus, where the Ruby-mines are, but refers doubtfully to *Kurána* as named by M. Reinaud from an Arabic work. Undoubtedly *Kurána* or *KURÁN* is the name. Wood had told us that this name is applied to the upper part of the Kokcha Valley (p. 262); and we learn from Manphúl that it is a recognized sub-division of the province of Jerm, lying among the spurs of the Hindu Kúsh. In fact, it includes the Lazuli Mines. It appears in Sprenger's Map 13 (from Bírúni) to the south-east of Badakhshán.

It is a striking illustration of the wide influence of China under the Thang dynasty that this little secluded state of Kurána should, in the middle of the eighth century, have sent tributary missions to the Court of the Emperor, indeed just before that influence was for many a century driven back from the Thsungling by the advance of the Mahomedan power.¹

(33). Leaving Kurána in a north-easterly direction, the Traveller crossed mountains and penetrated valleys, and after travelling five marches (500 *li*) by difficult and dangerous paths, reached the kingdom of *Ta-mo-si-fie-ti*, Tamasthiti.

This kingdom was situated between two mountain chains. It extended some fifteen or sixteen days' journey from east to west, and four or five from north to south. But the narrowest part was no more than a *li* in breadth. It stretched along the River Oxus, following all its windings. Hills and undulations of varying height occurred in it, and also plains covered with sand and stones. The winds were icy cold. Little wheat or pulse was grown, but fruit and flowers were plentiful. The ponies were excellent. The people were fierce, and squalid in aspect; they differed from all other nations in having, most of them, bluish green eyes. They

¹ See Ritter, vii. 582.

wore woollens. The country was also called *Chin-khan*, but the inhabitants called it *Humi*. The capital was called *Hoen-tho-ti*.

One cannot but see with Gen. Cunningham that this description can apply in the main only to the long valley of WAKHÁN. And the direction and length of the journey from Kurán applies equally well. M. de St.-Martin also sees the fitness of the identification, but is prevented from fully accepting it by his having already identified *Inpokian* with Wakhán. He appears therefore (for his opinion is not very distinctly expressed) to identify *Tamosit'ietí* with the upper part of Wakhán, especially that southern branch valley which Wood calls the *Darah-i-Mastoj* or *Darah-i-Chitrál* (and which forms the subdivision of Wakhán called *Sárigħ Chaupán*). De St.-Martin also recognizes in the Chinese form *Tamosit'ietí* the name of MASTOJ, and in that of the capital *Hoenthoto* the KUNDUT of Wood, called KHANDÚD by Faiz Bakhsh, and which gives its name to the central district of Wakhán, *Sad-i-Khandúd*. These are certainly very happy suggestions. I may observe, however, that the term *Darah-Mastoj* is only applied to the valley of *Sárigħ Chaupán* because that valley leads in the *direction* of Mastoj. Mastoj itself is the chief place of Upper Chitrál.

It is not impossible that the *Tamosit'ietí* of Hwen Thsang included both the valley of Wakhán and the upper part of the Chitrál Valley, a circumstance which would account for the width of four or five days' journey ascribed to it, for such an extent would not apparently apply anywhere to Wakhán alone. The passes between the higher parts of the two valleys are stated to be very easy. We have a parallel case in the present day, for Yasín and Payál, districts on the upper waters of the Gilghit River, and separated by a high watershed from Mastoj, are included with the latter under the common term of *Upper Chitrál* or *Upper Káshkár*. And quite recently we have learned, from the Report of Major Montgomerie's Mirza, that an annual tribute of slaves is paid by the Chief of Mastoj to Badakhshán.

With reference to the alternative name *Chin-khan* applied

to the country, it may be worth while to call attention to the fact that, according to the notes of Rájah Khán of Kábul, translated by Major Leech in vol. xiv. of the *Journal of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal* (pp. 815-817), Upper Káshkár is also called SHIGHNÁN, in fact by a name not distinguishable as there written from that of the province which adjoins Wakhán on the north-west (No. 34 of our list). I must leave the matter on this solitary authority. The same is indeed said in Major Raverty's "*Account of Upper Káshkár*," in the 33rd volume of the same *Journal*, p. 131. But I cannot regard this as a corroboration, for a comparison of the two papers shows that they have been derived from the same original notes, though no indication of this is suggested in the later paper.

The name *Humi* has already been referred to under No. 11 as appearing in Abel Rémusat's extracts relating to the countries on the Oxus that sent tribute to the Thang dynasty in China. Cunningham takes it for an indication that Wakhán was occupied by the *Hieumi* tribe of the Yuechi.

(34). Northward across high mountains from *Tamosit'ietí* or Wakhán was *Shikhi*, having a circuit of twenty days' journey (2000 *li*). It consisted of a succession of mountains, valleys, and steppes covered with sand and stones. Much pulse and corn were grown, but little rice. The climate was very cold, and the people brutal, etc. Their written character resembled that of Tukhára, but their spoken language was different.

Cunningham identifies this with SHIGHNÁN (or Shagnán), and there can be no doubt about it. The form *Shighnan* is no doubt a plural; the gentile adjective is *Shighni*, with which the Chinese form is identical.

(35). The last kingdom was not visited by the Traveller, nor apparently was the next of which he tells us. This is met with on leaving *Tamosit'ietí* and travelling to the south of the great mountains. It is called *Shang-mi*, and has a circuit of 25 to 26 days' journey (2500 to 2600 *li*). It is much cut up by mountains and valleys, with hills and undu-

lations of varying height. All sorts of grain are cultivated; abundance of pulse and wheat; and grapes in plenty. From this country also is obtained *Tse-hwang* or laminary orpiment, which is got by cutting stones from the mountains, and splitting them, etc.

The writing is the same as that of Tukhára, though the language differs. The king is of the race of Sakya.

Cunningham and De St.-Martin agree that this is Chitrál. I may quote in corroboration the fact mentioned by Pandit Manphúl, that *Hartál* or Orpiment is still an export from Chitrál.¹ The name of *Shangmi* has not been elucidated, unless by a suggestion of Gen. Cunningham's, in one of his early numismatic papers, that it is taken from the name (*Shwangmo* or *Shangmi*) of one of the five great tribes of the Yuechi, and may have been occupied by them.² A brief notice of *Shangmi* also occurs in the annals of the Thang Dynasty, where it is mentioned along with *Kurana* (No. 32), and some other small States not easily identified, as having so late as the years A.D. 742-755, sent complimentary embassies to the Chinese Court. The position of *Shangmi* is there described as north of the Snowy Mountains and of the River *Poliu* (or Bolor, i.e. the Indus). It is stated to have had the alternative name of *Khiu-wei*, whilst its capital was called *A-she-yu-sse-to*.³ I cannot interpret the latter name, but *Khiu-wei* transliterated by M. Julien's system becomes *Kuvi* or *Kubi*, and exactly represents the name *Kobi*, which Elphinstone tells us is the distinctive name of the people of Káshkár or Chitrál.⁴

I learn from Manphúl's already-quoted paper that the *terra incognita* of Dard tribes occupying the triangle of mountainous country between Gilghit and Yasín on the one side and Chitrál on the other, and comprising the States of Hodar, Dodshal, Gibriál, Darail, Tangir, Kohli, Palás, etc., is locally known as SHANAKI, a term in which it is possible

¹ Paper printed by Punjab Government on "Relations between Gilghit, Chitrál and Kashmir"; see also Major Montgomerie's Exploration Report of 1870.

² *Journ. As. Soc., Bengal*, xiv, 433.

³ See the passage quoted in *Ritter*, vii, 582.

⁴ *Cambul*, ed. 1839, vol. ii, p. 389.

that *Shangmi* survives, as the state so called by the Traveller may have embraced these, or at least a part of them.¹

(36). The traveller, starting from *Tamosit'ietí*, or Wakhán, proceeds north-east by mountains, valleys, and precipices, till, after accomplishing seven days' journey (700 *li*), he arrives at the valley of *Pomilo* or PAMIR (*Landresse*). This valley was about ten days' journey in extent from east to west, and one day from north to south, in the narrowest part indeed not more than 10 *li*. It lay between two snowy mountains, and hence was constantly subject to violent winds and icy cold. Snow fell in spring and in summer; day and night the wind blew in furious gusts. The soil was impregnated with salt, and covered with small stones. Fruits and corn could not grow, trees and plants of all kinds were rare and sparse. The traveller soon arrived at desert tracts where was no trace of habitation. In the middle of the valley there was a great Dragon-Lake, which was about three days' journey (300 *li*) from east to west, and five days (500 *li*) from north to south. This lies in the heart of the Thsungling mountains and at the centre of Jambodwipa. At the west end of the Lake issued a broad stream which, passing the eastern frontier of *Tamosit'ietí*, joined the Oxus and flowed westward. At the east end of the Lake issued another broad stream, which passed north-east across the western frontier of *Kiesha* or Kashgar, joined the *Sítá*, and so flowed eastward.

Nothing is difficult in this account except the size ascribed to the Lake. That is an extravagant exaggeration in regard to all the Lakes on Pamir except the *Kará Kúl*. But the whole of the description, and of the distance and directions, apart from that one point, is in precise accordance with the facts, if we identify this Valley of *Pomilo* with that which commences at the confluence above Panja and extends past the small lake of *Pamir Khurd* or Barkat Yasin to the descent into Tásh Kurghán, as recently travelled by Major Montgomerie's Mirza. The direction is from west to east; the length may fairly be stated at ten days' journey, and the

¹ *Shanaki* may however be connected with the name of the *Shind* Race of Dardistán.

breadth from a mile or two (or even less) up to one day's journey; the Lake stands almost in the middle of the length; it is alleged to have an outlet at either end, an allegation which, whether it be true or not, shows that the circumstances suggest such a belief; the western outflow passes the eastern frontier of Wakhán and forms a main contributory to the stream of the Oxus; the alleged eastern outflow goes north-east, and joins the *Sítá* or River of Yarkand; the salt nature of the soil, in some parts at least, is mentioned by Faiz Bakhsh and is attested by the name of *A'b-i-Shor* applied to one of the tributaries; all the other circumstances exactly agree with the Mirza's account. Immediately across the mountains bounding the valley on the south is the true BOLOR, in accordance with what is stated in the next section.

Hwen Thsang makes 1200 *li*, or twelve marches from his point of departure in Wakhán, to his arrival in *Khiapwanto*. Assuming the former point to have been somewhere about Kandút, and the latter to have been Tásh Kurghán, we shall have again a close agreement with the Itinerary of the Mirza, for he made $12\frac{1}{2}$ marches between Kandút and Tásh Kurghán.

Hwen Thsang's account under No. 33 apparently makes him leave the valley somewhere near the lake, and strike to the south-east. This would seem to indicate that he did not follow the Mirza's route down the stream flowing from the lake north-eastward, but took the pass called *Karáchunkur*, which, according to the map which I had compiled before entering on the details of this ancient journey, does take an almost south-easterly direction from that vicinity.

A deviation to Kará Kúl would necessarily have extended the twelve marches into something like twenty-four. The whole of the ground round the little lake of Pamir Khurd is very flat and somewhat swampy.¹ Is it possible that this lake had once a much larger extent? Otherwise we must believe that in this instance, in spite of his generally admirable accuracy, Hwen Thsang was mixing what he had seen with what he had heard.

¹ See *Ibrahim Khan* in Proc. R. G. S., xv. p. 391.

(37). South of the valley of Pamir, and beyond a mountain range, is the Kingdom of *Po-lo-lo*, Bolor, where is got much gold and silver, and which had been visited by the Traveller on his zigzag route when first entering India. It was then reached by him in five marches from *Talilo* or *DARAIL* (*Cunningham*); it had a circuit of forty days journey (4000 *li*), being much longer from east to west than from north to south, etc. The particulars previously given, as well as the position now indicated, are in entire accordance with *Cunningham's* view, that the country intended is *BALTI*, which he states to be still called *Bolor* by the Dard tribes.¹ But doubtless, as he also remarks, the territory included Gilghit and Kanjút, the latter famous for its gold produce.

(38). The Traveller departing from the middle of the Valley of Pamir, *i.e.* from the Lake on Pamir Khurd, proceeds south-east for five days' journey, meeting with no village all the way, but encountering ice and snow and precipitous mountain paths. He then reaches the kingdom of *Khia-pwan-to*, Khavandha.

This kingdom was about twenty days' journey in circuit. The capital was built at a mountain pass cut through the rock; behind it, to the north, flowed the river *Sitá*. The mountains were almost uninterrupted, the valleys and plateaux very narrow. But little rice was harvested, though wheat and pulse were plentiful. Forest trees were very sparse, flowers and fruit rare. The plains were deserted, the towns and villages almost depopulated, etc. The origin of the royal family was the subject of a legend, in which we find a King of Persia wooing a Princess of China.

General *Cunningham* deserves credit for his identification of this State with *SIRIKOL*, for twenty-three years ago, when his earlier studies on *Hwen Thsang* were published, the ideas of geographers about *Sirikol* were very hazy, and the cramped longitudes of our maps till recently hardly afforded room for its existence. Within the last few years this

¹ *Ladak*, p. 45-46. In the J.A.S.B. xvii., Pt. 2, p. 56, he says that *Balti* is called *Palolo* by the Dards. At p. 34 of *Ladak* we are told that *Balti* "is called *Palolo* or *Bolor* by the Dards." Do they call it by both names?

ancient and perhaps sole relic of Tajik population beyond Imaus has come to an end.

The ancient fortress now known as Tásh Kurghán, and reputed to be the old capital, stands in an extensive open plain,—a circumstance, it must be admitted, which does not answer Hwen Thsang's description. The productions of Sirikol, as detailed by Manphúl, viz. wheat, pease, *bájra*, and a few apples and apricots, agree well with the pilgrim's account. It is worthy of note, in reference to the story which he recounts, that in Persian legendary history we find King Jamshid marrying a daughter of Máháng, King of China. The existing local tradition refers the building of the fortress to Afrasiáb.

No light has been thrown on the name *Khiapcanto* or Khavandha. According to one of Klaproth's extracts from the Chinese Geography, it was also called *Han-tho* (Kandha?), *Kho-kwan-than*, and *Kho-lo-to* (*Mag. Asiat.* I., 95).

(39). Proceeding three days' journey (300 *li*) to the south-east of the city, and then across a mountainous and rugged road two days to the north-east, Hwen Thsang arrived at a *hospice* called *Punjangshelo*, *Punyasala*, or the House of Beneficence, respecting the erection of which he relates a legend. After completing 800 *li* (or eight days' journey), he descended from the eastern ranges of Thsungling by precipitous and dangerous paths, and issuing from them reached the kingdom of *Usha*. This had a circuit of ten days' journey (1000 *li*), and on the south adjoined the River *Sítá*. The soil was fertile, forest trees flourished, fruits and flowers were abundant. Much Jade was gathered in this kingdom, white, black, and green. The language and writing of the people had some resemblance to those of Kashgar. For some centuries the royal line had been extinct, and the country was now dependent upon Khavandha. 200 *li* west of the city there was a great mountain, with a remarkable *stupa* on the summit, respecting which a legend is rehearsed.

Cunningham and De St.-Martin agree in identifying *Usha* with YANGHISSAR. Probably this is not far wrong, but I should gather from the distances, and the character of the

next stage, that the country in question was still within the hills. The Pilgrim, on leaving Tásh Kurghán in order to visit the *Punyasala*, seems to have taken the road on the south of the Sirikol River, which crosses several rugged passes, and also traverses a valley called *U'chi* or *Vachhá*. The name may well be a relic of *Usha*, but in exact position it does not agree, for the valley is on the south of the Sirikol River, which we must here take as the *Sítá*.¹ The name of the hospice *Punyasala* perhaps survives in BRUNGSÁL. From this he must have gone three days north to regain the road to Kashgar, and the position of *Usha* may perhaps be assigned to CHIHIL-GUMBAZ ("The forty domes"), a ruin which is passed by travellers on that road.² Jade is mentioned by Manphúl, as well as by other writers, as a mineral found in the Yarkand River.³

(40). Five days more (500 *li*) across stony mountains and desert plains bring the traveller to the kingdom of *Kiesha*, or Kashgar (*Landresse*). The time corresponds well with that taken by the Mirza from Chihil Gumbaz to Kashgar (a little less than six marches) and by Faiz Bakhsh (4½, but one very long). The "desert plains" may seem inapplicable to the tract between Yanghissar and Kashgar, part of which is highly cultivated; but the stony mountains answer precisely to the Mirza's description of two passes crossed between Chihil Gumbaz and the plains.

(41). Leaving Kashgar he travels five days (500 *li*) to the south-east, passes the River *Sítá*, crosses a great mountain pass covered with sand, and arrives at *Cho-keu-kia*, Chakuka. This kingdom had a circuit of ten days' journey; the population was large; the hills and mountains were in close contiguity; vast tracts were covered with stones and sand. The kingdom lay on the banks of two rivers. Its crops of corn were abundant, and fruit, especially grapes, pears, and

¹ The name of this State is written *Uehha* (*Ou-tehha*) in Klaproth's Extracts (*Magazin Asiatique*, i., 91, *seq.*). He follows his Chinese authorities in confounding it with Badakhshán; and Ritter does the like, as was natural in the absence of the information we now have. It is called *Yadscha* in Ritter's extract from P. Hyakinth (vii., 707, *seqq.*).

² See Mahomed Amin's Itinerary in Panjáb Report App. iv. B., and Faiz Bakhsh's Journey. The Mirza calls it *Chihíl Situn* ("Forty Pillars").

³ App. to Panjáb Trade Report, p. cccxviii; The *Hafí Iklím* quoted by Quatremère in *Not. et Extraits*, tom. xiv., pt. i., 475.

plums. Wind and cold prevailed at all seasons. The writing was like that of Khotan, but the spoken language differed.

This place is identified by Julien and the Chinese scholars generally with YARKAND. Yet as regards the city or centre of the kingdom there are some obvious difficulties. Thus the passage of a mountain and that of the River *Sitá* (a name previously applied to the Yarkand River, or to one of its chief tributaries, the Sirikol River), before reaching Yarkand, are not consistent with the position of that city. Neither is the hilly character ascribed to the environs, nor the high mountain passes said to be traversed in the next stage, between *Chakuka* and Khotan. These particulars would seem to point to a site among the hills south of Yarkand.¹ But on the other hand the distance from Kashgar (five marches) and the distance to Khotan (eight marches) agree exactly with modern itineraries. So I am unable to suggest a resolution of the difficulty.

Here our comment ends. The chief novel elucidations that have been offered are contained under Nos. 6 (Holumo), 8 (Kiahoyanna), 12 (Hwo), 14 (Helusiminkian), 20 (Gachi), 24 (Munkian), 25 (Olini), 26 (Rohu), 27 (Kilissemo), 28 (Poliho), 29 (Himatala), 31 (Inpokian), 35 (Shangmi), 36 (Pomilo), 39 (Ucha). The series of identifications as here modified requires, as it seems to me, less straining of the Traveller's indications than those given either by General Cunningham or by M. Vivien de St.-Martin.¹

[*Note.* Since this article has been in type, I learn that some of the new identifications proposed in the foregoing pages have been already suggested by Sir Henry Rawlinson, in his paper on the Oxus, which was read at the Liverpool meeting of the British Association in 1870, and which has been printed, though not published. Though the fact will add weight to the identifications themselves, I fear it will leave but little value to these notes. Not knowing however how far the coincidence goes, I let my paper remain unmodified. H.Y.—*Palermo, April 27th, 1872.*]

¹ *Chokeukia* appears to have been read by Klaproth *Chukinpho*, whilst in Mr. Beal's *Sung-yun* it appears as *Shikkupo*. There is a town of some consequence in one of the valleys south of Yarkand called OSHOKWAS, a name certainly bearing a considerable likeness to *Shikkupo*.

ART. VI.—*The Campaign of Ælius Gallus in Arabia.* By
A. SPRENGER.

In the year 18 B.C. Ælius Gallus, a Roman knight, then Governor of Egypt, undertook, by order of Augustus, a campaign into Arabia. Strabo, p. 780, says, "Observing that the Red Sea is extremely narrow, and forms an inconsiderable barrier between the Æthiopians and the Arabs, the Emperor ordered Gallus to 'explore' both countries, being determined either to make these nations his friends and allies, or to subdue them. As they had from time immemorial been selling the spices and precious stones of their countries for cash, and never imported goods from foreign parts, they were proverbial for their wealth; and this was the principal inducement for making an attempt to win them as friends, or to subdue them in case of resistance. The Emperor was, moreover, encouraged by the Nabataeans, who were allies of the Romans, and promised to further his views."

Pliny 6, 27, § 140, relates that previous to Tiberius's campaign into Armenia and Parthia, Augustus sent the geographer Dionysius Periegetes to explore these countries, and to report thereon; and it seems a similar measure was taken previous to the invasion of Arabia by Ælius Gallus. Juba II., King of Numidia, and son-in-law of the Triumvir Antonius, wrote for Augustus a work, *De Expeditione Arabica*, which, to judge from the extracts preserved by Pliny, contained the fullest description of the peninsula ever compiled by a foreigner. We have no direct proof to show that this report was written and submitted to the Emperor *previous* to Gallus's expedition:¹ but there is some circumstantial evidence; for instance, Pliny, 6, 28, § 160, says, that most of the towns which Gallus conquered had not been mentioned by authors who had written before him. As, besides Juba, there was, as far as we know, no detailed

¹ The words of Pliny are: in hac tamen parte arma Romana sequi placet nobis Jubanque regem, ad eundem Caium Caesarem scriptis voluminibus de eadem expeditione Arabica.

geography of Arabia extant, this remark seems to refer more particularly to the defects of Juba's report. But, putting the work, *De Expeditione Arabica*, out of the question, there were Roman officers and residents all over Syria, and nothing could have been more easy for the Emperor than to obtain information on the chances an invasion of Arabia was likely to have. The most superficial inquiry must have shown that the difficulties were insurmountable; and we can only ascribe it to the blind confidence in the invincibility of the Roman arms that Roman statesmen decided on so adventurous an enterprise. Pliny says, "Augustus tantum prospexit Arabiam," and the fancy of the Emperor seems to have overruled all objections, if any were raised, against so wild a scheme. It is, however, not the rashness of those who ordered the expedition on which I wish to pass any remarks, but rather on Strabo, the only author who has left something like a detailed account of it, because we shall find it impossible to follow him unless we know his bias.

Gallus failed, and there was no mincing matters. The Æthiopians on the other side of the Red Sea, encouraged by Gallus's defeat, rose in rebellion against the Romans, and the impression which these events made upon the populace of Rome cannot have been very cheerful. Everybody very naturally asked: What is the cause of this check of our invincible arms? It would have been both impolitic and unjust to impute any fault to Gallus. The honour of the Roman General was the honour of the nation, and it must be allowed he penetrated deeper into the interior of that sterile country than a military chief would in our days be able to advance, and he seems to have managed his retreat with consummate skill. The real cause of discomfiture—that the whole scheme was unsound and impracticable—neither Gallus nor the public dared to admit; for it had emanated from the Emperor himself, and the belief in the irresistibility of the Roman arms was so strong, that such an insinuation would have been considered high treason. Under these circumstances, a scapegoat was required to satisfy public opinion. Syllæus, the Wezeer of the King of the Naba-

tæans, had served Gallus as guide during the whole campaign, in which also Nabataean and Jewish auxiliaries were employed. Gallus thought it prudent to make poor Syllæus answerable for the failure; and in order that the public might become fully impressed with his guilt, he was dragged to Rome, and beheaded there. Strabo was a personal friend of Gallus, and what he aims at, in his narrative of the campaign, is to show that the General was from beginning to end misled by treacherous Syllæus, and in order to exonerate Gallus from any blame of having allowed himself to be duped, he represents Arabia as a complete *terra incognita*, where the General was in every measure he had to take dependent upon his guide. Strabo takes good care that the vast tract of land through which the Roman army marched should remain a *terra incognita*; his account, looked at from a geographical point of view, being contemptible, and wholly unworthy of the great geographer. In his desire to write an apology for his friend, he went so far as intentionally to render the geography of the country darker than it had been, and he succeeded so well that the attempts to follow the Roman army in its progress and retreat have hitherto been unsuccessful.

Our researches will be considerably facilitated if we first follow up the report of Gallus's retreat. The furthestmost town, says Strabo, p. 782, which the Romans reached was that of the Rhamanites, whose king was then Ilisaros. The Romans besieged it for six days, but want of water obliged them to raise the siege. It is clear that they were defeated, and thought it prudent to make the best of their way towards their homes. This, however, Strabo does not like to confess, but speaks emphatically of the treachery of Syllæus, and says that now, all on a sudden, Gallus discovered the latter's snares, and began to act for himself. He returned by a road different from the one by which he had advanced, and this shorter road it seems he found by himself. On the ninth day after he had commenced his retreat, he reached Negrana, where he had fought a battle; and eleven days after he had passed this town, he came to a place which,

as there are seven wells there, is called Seven Wells. Beginning from this village, the country was peaceful, and he passed the small town Chaala, and subsequently Malotha, which is situated on a river. The country through which the road leads after this place suffers from scarcity of spring water. Finally, however, he reached the town of Egra, which is situated on the sea-shore, in the territory of King Obodas. The whole march he completed in sixty days, whereas he had been six months on the road in advancing.

I shall show lower down that the town of the Rhamanites is the capital of Radmân, which, in Baron Von Maltzan's recent map, is in long. $45^{\circ} 44'$, lat. $14^{\circ} 33'$. The data furnished by Hamdâny induce me to place it a little further N.W., in long. $45^{\circ} 30'$, lat. $14^{\circ} 40'$. Negrana, *i.e.* Nejrân, may be situated in long. $44^{\circ} 35'$, lat. $17^{\circ} 25'$. The distance between these two towns is 180 geographical miles, and this is exactly the distance which a caravan usually marches in nine days—about 20 miles a day. The road to Nejrân leads through the Jôf, and the Romans passed the fourth and fifth days of their retreat the second time through this fertile and in ancient times highly cultivated valley.

Before following Ælius Gallus on his further progress to the place of embarkation, from which, as Strabo says, he shipped his men in eleven days over to Myos-Hormos on the African coast, it appears advisable to ascertain the position of this port and its distance from Nejrân. Strabo calls it Egra, and says that it belongs to the dominions of Obodas, King of the Nabatæans, who resided at Petra. Pliny and Ptolemy apply this name to a town in the interior of the country, which is called by the Arabs al-Hijr (الحجر), and formed in those days part of the kingdom of Aretas, a relation of Obodas. Ancient geography offers numerous instances in which seaports assumed the names of important towns in the interior: thus mariners gave to Mokhâ the name of Muza; to 'Oqayr, in Baḥrayn, that of Gerrha; and the modern Mowayliḥa is called by Ptolemy Modiana, because here the goods destined for Madyan (مدین) were disembarked. The ancients knew the name of 'Aden; Philostorgus

writes *Ἀδανή*, and Pliny, 6, 32, § 159, *Athene*; yet it seems to have been the habit of Egyptian sailors who visited that seaport to say, "I am sailing to Arabia," and hence it was called by them *Arabia* (not *Arabie*) *emporium*. It is, therefore, clear that Strabo means by Egra on the coast, the seaport in which goods destined for al-Hijr were usually landed. Moqaddasy informs us that this seaport is 'Aunyd (عنيد), opposite the island Na'mân, and consequently situated in long. 35° 12', lat. 27° 5'. It is the sixteenth station of the Egyptian pilgrims, who now call it al-Azlam. In Ptolemy's map it has the name Rhaunathu, which, as the 'Ayn—the first consonant—is in some Schemitic dialects pronounced like Ghayn, or our Rh, may be a corruption of 'Aunyd.

From Nejrân, the ninth stage in Gallus's retreat, to Wâdiy Laymûn, a place one day within Mekka, there is only one road, and it is nineteen marches long. At Wâdiy Laymûn (anciently called Bostân Beny 'Âmir) Gallus had the choice: he might proceed to Mekka, 23 miles, and thence to al-Madyna, eleven marches; or he might leave Mekka on his left, and take the direct route to al-Madyna, which Burton travelled in nine days. From al-Madyna by Dzû-l-Marwa to 'Aunyd there are twelve marches. Consequently there are from Radmân to 'Aunyd 52 or 49 marches. The distance may be reduced to 44 heavy and fatiguing marches, by proceeding from Mekka by Badr to the seaport Yanbo', and following thence the coast to 'Aunyd. This is, and has been for 800 years, the road of the Egyptian pilgrims to Mekka; but in the time of Moḥammed caravans passed through it only if their regular route leading through al-Madyna was obstructed; and it is not likely that Gallus would have chosen it. Gallus completed the journey from Radmân to 'Aunyd in 60 days, and consequently he allowed his men eight or eleven days' rest.

Comparing this retreat with marches of regiments in India, we find that the stages along the Great Trunk Road are shorter, as they rarely exceed 17 miles, whereas in Arabia they average 20 or 21 miles. But we may assume that the Roman army was, like a caravan, well provided with

camels, and that every man had a chance of riding part of the way.

Though we know every stage along Gallus's line of march, neither in ancient nor in modern geographers do we find the three places mentioned by Strabo—the Seven Wells, Chaala, and Malotha. Strabo repeatedly expresses his contempt for barbarous names; and it appears that he not only disdained to disfigure his pages by mentioning more of them than he could help, but also refused to pay any attention to their spelling: this may be the main cause why we find it so difficult to identify his data with those of other authors. If the eleven days from Nejran to the Seven Wells are marching days, they coincide with the station Tarj (ترج), and, if two days of rest are included in them, with Maçâma (المصامة); both these places are villages of some importance.

Much more instructive than the name of the place is Strabo's statement that Gallus at or soon after he had passed the Seven Wells reached a peaceful country. As far as Maçâma and Tarj, the Khath'amites, a Yemenic tribe, prevailed; and as it was his avowed object to subjugate that portion of Arabia which is opposite to Æthiopia, that is to say Yemen (the rest of Arabia was never worth possessing), they were naturally hostile to the invaders. At Tarj, and north of it, various sub-divisions of the Banû Çaç'a'a (the Banasasei of Pliny), a powerful Ma'additic tribe, were settled; as the Ma'addites would probably not have been sorry to see their southern neighbours punished, they had less reason for being hostile to the invaders.

It is very singular that Juba, Augustus's reporter on the condition of Arabia, is well acquainted with those Ma'additic tribes through whose territory Gallus had to pass, and with no others, though the Ma'addites in Eastern Arabia were by far the most powerful and important. He seems to have paid particular attention to the ways and means of the intended invasion, and it appears even likely that the Romans, or their confederates the Nabatæans, had come to an arrangement with the Ma'additic tribes in question, before entering on their adventure. Pliny recapitulates Juba's statement as

follows: Achoali, oppidum Phodac. Minæi a rege Cretæ Minæ, ut existimant, originem trahentes, quorum Charmæi oppidum XIV. mill. passuum, Mariaba Baramalacûm, et ipsum non spernendum, item Carnon. Rhadamæi, et horum origo Rhadamanthus putatur frater Minois. Homeritæ, Messala oppidum. Hamiræi, Gedranitæ, Ilisanitæ, Bachilitæ. I would observe, that what the author says of the Rhadamæi is a mythological digression, and that the other names are enumerated in geographical order from north to south.

The following is a periphrase of the passage: The Banû-‘Owâl are in possession of the town of Fadak (compare Dozy, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka*, p. 67). The capital of the Minæans is Harm, a town of fourteen miles in circumference. Mekka, the chief town of the Banû Mâlik, a place not to be despised, and Qarn-al-Manâzil, also belong to their dominions. East of Qarn are the Nomêrites with the town Mâsal; south of Qarn, the Banû ‘Âmir; west of Qarn, and of the ‘Âmirites, on the mountains, live the Jadara and the Banû Ilyâs; and south-west of the ‘Âmirites the Banû Bâhila. I now follow up these clans in the order Gallus came into contact with them, which is the opposite of that observed by Pliny. The Bâhila (بَاهِلَة) are neither purely Yemenitic nor purely Ma‘additic. Eight hundred years ago they were in exclusive possession of the province Washm, in Eastern Arabia—far from Gallus’s line of retreat; but at the time of Moḥammed they inhabited Bysha-Yoqtân, a fertile valley about ten miles east of Tarj. Gallus met the Banû ‘Âmir bin Ça‘ga‘a (عَامِر بن صَعْعَة) first at Maçâma (comp. Hamdâny, p. 150), which may be Strabo’s Seven Wells. Here and at Tarj they shared the cultivated grounds with the Khath’amites (خَثْعَم). They extended to the north, at the right-hand side of Gallus’s line of march, as far as Qarn-al-Manâzil, and to the east far into Nejd. Ilyâs (إِلْيَاس;—this is, according to Sohayly, the right pronunciation of the word, and not al-Yâs) is with Arabic genealogists the name of a patriarch, from whom the Mekkians and several other clans are descended. There occurs a verse in the Qorân, 2, 195, in which the prophet rebukes his countrymen for having altered the ceremonies of

pilgrimage, and orders them, if we adopt the reading of Sa'yid bin Jobayr, to return to the practice of Ilyâs.¹ It seems that Ilyâs was the name of an extinct clan, which had had its seats not far from Mekka, and that the genealogists employed the name after dissolution of the tribe, as it is their habit, to fill up their symbolic pedigree. The Jadara too were extinct at the time of Moḥammed, or nearly so; but their name was kept up in sacred history. It is related in a legend that the founder of this tribe rebuilt the *jadr* (wall) of the Ka'ba after it had been destroyed by an inundation. On the origin of this tribe the genealogists are not agreed. Some connect them with the Hodzaylites, others with the Azdites. In either case they must have lived on the hills south-west of Qarn-al-Manâzil. Ethnographical names are subject to great changes in every country: thus, the Elsacians have been Germans, became les plus Français des Français, and now share again the fate of the German nation; whilst the Austrians are excluded from it. Thus, it may have happened that the Jadara and Banû Ilyâs had been a great federation of families, and that these families subsequently entered other combinations, which received new names. Homeritæ is certainly a mistake for Nomeritæ. Nomayr (نمير; pronounced Nomêr) is represented by the genealogists as a subdivision of the 'Âmirites. They extended as far to the east as Yamâma, and their most western encampments which we are able to trace are about four days' journey north-east of Qarn-al-Manâzil. In reference to their town, Mâsal, also called Dâra Mâsal (دائرة مأسل), Hamdâny, p. 285, says: There are two places of the name of Mâsal: one, Mâsal near Jâwa (جاء), belongs to the Bâhila; the other, Mâsal near al-Jomah (الجمح), to the Dhabba, a subdivision of the Nomayr tribe. The latter town is situated north-east of Nejran, and far

¹ We may reject the reading "Ilyâs," and adhere to the common reading, "return to the practice of the people" الناس. In this case we give up the authority of the Qorân for the existence of a tribe or person of the name of Ilyâs; but there remains the authority of Sa'yid bin Jobayr, which is quite as valuable as that of the Qorân.

from Gallus's line of retreat; but it was its mercantile importance which attracted the attention of the reporter. Pliny, 12, 16, § 69, enumerates the various sorts of myrrh, and says: "Sexta, quam Dusaritin vocant, est candida uno tantum loco, quæ in Messalum oppidum convehitur,"—that is to say, the myrrh which is grown in Wâdiy Dawâsir (the *Regio Myrrhifera interior* of Ptolemy) is brought to Mâsal, and thence we may suppose to Tobâla.

Where were the seats of the Minæans? This is the great question in the ancient geography of Arabia, and the answer is not without importance for our present purpose. With the view of preparing the reader for the results I have come to, I put another question, which every Arabist is able to answer with perfect certainty. Where were the Kindites in the year in which Moḥammed was born? One of their chiefs, surrounded by some of his clansmen, was ruler in Dûmat-al-Jandal; another in Baḥrayn, where he occupied the citadel Moshaggar; some Kindites were settled not far from Nejrân; but their main force was settled in Nejd. Here they formed a kingdom so powerful that the Byzantine Emperors sent ambassadors to their sovereigns. The most western settlement of this empire, and at a more remote period its capital, was Ghamr-dzy-Kinda, close to Qarn-al-Manâzil, and only two days east of Mekka.¹ In the very year of Moḥammed's birth they lost a battle in Nejd, retired in a body to Ḥadhramaut, where it seems they had settlements of old, and became masters of that fertile country. The ubiquitous Kindites had settlements in various parts of Arabia, most distant from each other; and where they had a settlement, they ruled over the neighbouring tribes. There have always been, and there are up to this day, tribes in Arabia which have a military organiza-

¹ It is important to establish the proximity of Qarn and Ghamr-dzy-Kinda (غمر ذي كندة), it being one of the arguments for the identity of the Minæans of Greek authors, with the Kindites of Arabic and Byzantine historians. Qarn-al-Manâzil is, according to Hamdâny, 18+22=40 miles from Mekka; and Ghamr-dzy-Kinda, according to Ibn Khordâdbah, p. 107, 41 miles. Both places lie either on the same road, or on parallel roads closely approaching to one another.

tion, and keep their neighbours in mild subjection. The Druses on Libanon and in Haurân are an instance of such a tribe accessible to tourists, and deserve the attention of men taking an interest in the institutions of semi-barbarous nations left to themselves. The Kindites were such a tribe on the greatest scale known, and there is reason to suppose that the Minæans, whom Ptolemy calls *gens magna*, are the predecessors of the Kindites. The first question is not where have there been ramifications of the Minæans? but where was their main force concentrated? Among the towns which Juba mentions, Carnon undoubtedly answers to Qarn, usually called Qarn-al-Manâzil (قرن المنازل), two days east of Mekka, on the road to Nejrân and Qan'â, and also to the Persian Gulf and Babylonia. Baramalacum may be a clerical error, or the Syriac form for Banû-Mâlik. This was at the time of Moḥammed the name of an insignificant tribe in the vicinity of Mekka. In genealogy Mâlik occurs twice: as the father of Qoraysh, from whom the Mekkians derived their origin; and as the grand-uncle of Qoraysh. The meaning of the latter symbol is that the Mâlikites were a separate tribe, but more ancient and closely related to the Mekkians; and the former symbol expresses the opinion of those who considered the Mekkians as a branch of the nomadic Mâlikites. At the time of Ptolemy the latter view seems to have been prevalent; for if the name Malichæ, as he calls them, had been applied merely to a few roaming families, it would have escaped his notice. If Mariaba is the correct reading, Mariaba Baramalacum means capital of the Banû-Mâlik, *i.e.* Mekka. But Ptolemy writes Macoraba, and this may also originally have been the spelling in Pliny. The import is the same—the Mekka of the Banû-Mâlik.

There remains the site of Charamæi to be identified, which, if it were only four miles in circumference, must have been a vast city. Ptolemy calls the capital of the Minæans *Carman regia*, and places it three marches south of Tobâla. In Arabic itineraries we find, at the same distance from Tobâla, "a large village," called Benât-Harm. Yâqût, 2, 233, calls this place Harb or Benât-Harb, putting *b* for *m*, just as in

Qorân, 3, 90, Mekka is called Bekka; as Ptolemy spells Mariama instead of Mariaba; as Pliny writes Tomala for Tobala; and as Maumâh was also pronounced Baubâh (Mu'jam 1, 755). At the time of Juba and Ptolemy Benât-Harm was the capital of the Minæans. Two hundred years earlier, at the time of Eratosthenes, Carna (Qarn-al-Manâzil) enjoyed this distinction, and hence we conclude that the kingdom of the Minæans extended from Mekka to the east and to the south. Looking closer at its geography, we perceive that Harm has the same latitude as Maçâma (about 19°), and the distance between the two places cannot be more than 20 miles; but Harm lies on the road to Çan'â, and Maçâma (Seven Wells?) on the road to Nejrân. Between Harm and Mekka are eleven marches, and I have shown that the Hamiræi, Gedranitæ, Ilisanitæ, and Bachilitæ commanded the road within this space. Taking these facts into consideration, we come to the conclusion that these tribes formed a confederation, which was headed by the Minæans. How far this confederation or Minæan kingdom extended to the east into Nejd, we do not know; but we may assert that most of the Nomeritæ belonged to it, and its eastern limit may have been beyond Dharyya. At a later period Dharyya was the capital of those regions, owing to its geographical position. But at an earlier time the kings of the confederation resided in a town on the great mercantile road from southern Arabia to Syria and Egypt, *viz.* at Qarn, Benât-Harm, Ghamr-dzy-Kinda, because in those days the great object of the confederation was to secure the monopoly of transport for part of the road. This monopoly, which yielded great profits, and even a share in the commerce itself, the Minæans enjoyed for ages. Pliny, 12, 14, § 53, says of them: "Hi primi commercium thuris fecere maximeque exercent, a quibus et Minæum dictum est." The assertion "primi fecere" is not to be taken literally, for the importation of frankincense into Egypt and Syria began more than a thousand years previous to the time from which Pliny's information may have dated. There is no doubt the Minæans had colonies near the frankincense region, and perhaps elsewhere—just like the Kindites;

but their main force was between Mekka and Benât-Harm and in Western Nejd. The remark which Ælius Gallus made on them *apud* Pliny, § 63, "Minæis fertiles agros palmetis arbustoque, inpecore divitias," suits extremely well Western Nejd and the neighbourhood of Tobâla and of Benât-Harm. When the Minæans are described as "gens magna" (Ptolemy), or as one of the four great nations of Arabia (Eratosthenes), the whole confederation is meant. Arabic authors, who are always guided by genealogy, never take the Kindites in so extensive a sense.

Pliny, 12, 14, § 63, explains how the frankincense commerce was carried on at Sabota, in Ḥadhramaut, and says: "Ibi decimas Deo, quem Sabin vocant, mensura, non pondere, sacerdotes capiunt, nec ante mercari licet; inde impensæ publicæ tolerantur. Nam et benigne certo itinerum numero Deus hospites pascit." In Sabis the *b* stands for *m*, the original word being *shams*, the Sun. In another passage this God is called Assabinus, with the article. Not only at Sabota, but also in their further progress, the caravans placed themselves under the protection of religion, and Pliny says, lower down, in speaking of the expenses of transport: "Sunt et quæ sacerdotibus dantur portiones." This observation applies to the Minæans and other tribes, through whose territories the *latyma* (لطيمة; caravan carrying perfumes) passed. We have observed that a legend connects the name of the Gedranitæ with the Ka'ba; and that the Ilisanitæ are praised for their orthodoxy in the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. There are passages in Azraqy which bring the Kindites—who, in my opinion, are the successors of the Minæans—into connexion with the sacred months and with the pilgrimage. The most important is p. 125. The Arabs counted by lunar months, but the Ḥajj, pilgrimage, which answered to our Easter, was to be held as near as possible to the vernal equinox. In order to bring their Ḥajj year into unison with the lunar year, they intercalated every three or two years one month; and after the completion of the ceremonies of the Ḥajj, a man who had the title Qalammas proclaimed whether a month was to be intercalated or not,—that

is to say, whether the next Hajj was to take place after twelve or thirteen lunations. This was the most important office in their ecclesiastical institutions, because all religious ceremonies had no other object than to procure safety for commerce; and for this purpose it was law that, during the three Hajj months (March and April, and parts of February and of May), as well as during the month Rajab (September), all feuds should cease, and arms be laid aside. The Qalammas, it is to be supposed, was less guided in his decision by astronomical observations than by an understanding with the heads of similar neighbouring confederations that the same months should be kept sacred all along the caravan roads. We learn from Azraqy the important fact that this office was originally held by the Kindites: from them it lapsed to the Banû Mâlik, the same tribe of which I have spoken above; and they held it—notwithstanding their political insignificance, consequent on their separation from the Mekkians—until it was done away with by Moḥammed's changing the almanack. I have shown in my *Leben des Moh.*, vol. iii. p. 520, that Minâ was the spot in which the principal ceremonies of the Hajj were performed, and it appears to me likely that the Minæans derived their name from Minâ. The name Minæi occurs very frequently in ancient authors, and, errors excepted, is everywhere spelt alike; whereas other Arabic names assume the most diversified shapes. For instance: Adramytta (Theophr.), Chatramotitæ (Eratosth.), Atramitæ (Juba), Adramitæ (Ptol.) for *حزمويت* and its inhabitants. Among the ancients every one spelt barbarous proper names by the ear, without reference to the orthography of his predecessors. If Me'ûn or Ma'tyn, or some such word, as has been proposed, was the root, it would be very singular if one and all expressed these strangely-sounding names by Minæans. But if Minâ is the root, their agreement is natural.

The probability of a previous understanding between the Romans and the Ma'additic tribes in reference to Gallus's movements, is greatly increased by the fact that these tribes were represented by one man, the King of the Minæans.

After having passed the Seven Wells, Gallus reached Chaala. Strabo can only mean Tobála (تَبَالَة), the eighth stage south of Mekka, where the road divides, one branch running to Çan'á, the other to Nejrân. Pliny, 6, 28, § 154, follows an author who applies the name Sabæans to nearly all the mercantile nations of Arabia, including the Minæans; and, in enumerating the Sabæan towns, he says: "Carnus et quo merces odorum deferunt Tomala." Ptolemy writes Thumata for Thumala, or Thubala, by a clerical error. Malotha, the next town Gallus reached, must be a mistake for Nalotha, *i.e.* نَخْلَة Nakhlat, a place two days east of Mekka, on the brook al-Nakhlat alyemânyya, the southern Nakhla, so called in contradistinction to al-Nakhlat alschmâyya, the northern Nakhla, which it joins at Wâdiy Laymûn, whence they jointly continue their course through Wâdy Fâṭima (Marr-Tzahrán) towards the sea. The southern Nakhla rises above Qarn-al-Manâzil, is fed by springs from the mountains north and east of Ṭâyif, and in some parts of its course has water for the greater part of the year. Gallus's road runs nearly a whole day's journey along this rivulet. In the village of Nakhlat was the sanctuary of al-'Ozzâ, one of the divinities mentioned in the Qorân. After the river Nakhla the country changes; it becomes more sterile, and, as Strabo observes, spring water is very rarely met with—probably only in five places all the way to 'Aunyd.

In our attempt to follow Gallus in his advance from the coast of the Red Sea to Radmân, we must be guided by the statement that he was six months on the road, whereas he required only two for his retreat, having chosen a different route. There are, besides the road by which he retreated, only two others leading from north-western Arabia to Nejrân. One runs along the coast as far as Dzahabân, and thence due east over the mountains to Ça'da and to Nejrân. This does not answer to Strabo's narrative, because, being closed in between mountains and the sea, it does not leave room for any detours. The other is very circuitous, and has the form of a horse-shoe. It first runs in a north-easterly direction into Nejd, as far as 'Onayza, for more than twenty

days' marches; then in the direction E.S.E. as far as Ḥajr, the capital of Yamâma (near the modern Wahhâbite capital Riyâdh, which lies in lat. $24^{\circ} 38' 34''$, long. $46^{\circ} 41'$), ten marches; and thence in a south-westerly direction to Nejran, twenty marches. A short cut is impossible, the cavity of the horse-shoe being filled with an impenetrable desert; but the horse-shoe may be prolonged by going further north-east than 'Onayza. This is the route by which Gallus advanced to Nejran.

The Roman troops landed at Leucecome. The Arabic name is al-Ḥaurâ, which means 'chalk,' and also, as Stephanus Byz. correctly observes, 'white.' It is situated in lat. $24^{\circ} 58'$, and was in those days, like 'Aunyd, annexed to the kingdom of the Nabatæans. The men suffered from scurvy, and Gallus was compelled to stay here the whole summer *and winter* to recruit their strength. As the text of Strabo is not very correct, it is allowable to suspect that he intended to say, *till the beginning* of winter. At length they started. The scarcity of water in the country through which they had to march was so great that they were obliged to carry this necessity on camels. All this was due to the perfidy of wicked Syllæus. After many days' journey, they reached the kingdom of Aretas, a relation of the Nabatæan King Obodas. He received them kindly, and made presents to them. We are at a loss to say where king Ḥârith (Aretas) resided. Ḥaurâ, the landing-place, has nearly the same latitude as al-Madyna (which I place in lat. $24^{\circ} 30'$), and is considered by Arabic geographers as one of the seaports of this city. As Gallus was bound^d for the south, we should suppose he would have directed his steps towards al-Madyna. It is, however, extremely unlikely that this city belonged to the dominions of Ḥârith. He was probably King of Wâdiy al-Qorâ; and it seems that Gallus, after having passed the coast of Wâdiy al-Qorâ by sea, marched in a north-easterly direction back to this country. By various circuitous ways, says Strabo, Gallus traversed Aretas's dominions in thirty days. The country next to it into which he came is inhabited by nomads, and partly desert. Its name was Ararene, and the

name of its king Sabos. Here, too, he made many circuits, and in fifty days he reached the town Negrana. The king fled, and the city was taken by assault. In this report Strabo accounts only for eighty days. Add about ten days for the march from the coast to the residence of King Aretas, and, as he had to fight his way, a whole month from Nejrân to Radmân (a distance which he made on his retreat in nine days), and we have only four months for his advance. In the six months of which Strabo speaks in another passage, the time spent on the coast for restoring his troops must be included. Our great difficulty is to find room for the two vast kingdoms that stretch from Wâdiy al-Qorâ to Nejrân; that of Aretas with its thirty, the other of Sabos with its fifty marches in length. The former must have comprised a great portion of Nejd as far as 'Onayza, and the latter the whole of Yamâma and Wâdiy Dawâsir as far as Nejrân. Strabo's summary account is so carelessly drawn up, that it would be unsafe to draw inferences from it on the political condition of Arabia in those days. One thing, however, is certain, that the people of Ararene thought no more of opposing Gallus's progress than their neighbours, the subjects of King Aretas. The name Ararene I can only explain by making of it Agarene, the country of Ḥajr. Arabic geographers call this country Yamâma, and say that at a more remote period it had the name Jaww, and in a vague sense it is also called 'Arûdh. Ḥajr was for some time the capital of Yamâma, and it happens frequently that the name of the capital is applied to the country, and *vice versa*; and therefore the hypothesis that Agarene is Yamâma appears to me plausible.¹

Gallus's military operations began at Nejrân. Six days after he had left this town he arrived at a river. Here the barbarians offered him battle, and lost 10,000 (!) men and he only two men. Soon after this victory he reached the town

¹ This hypothesis receives some confirmation from a passage of Pliny. He sums up the intelligence brought back by Gallus regarding some Arabic tribes, and says: "Ceubanos (*var.* Cerbanos, Ceubanos) et Agreos armis præstare." The Agreai of this passage may be supposed to be the inhabitants of Agarene, and Ceubani the Banû ['Abd] al-Qays.

Asca. The king had fled, and Gallus captured the town. Thence he marched on Athrulla, which surrendered without fighting. He left there a garrison; and after he had taken in provisions, he proceeded to Marsyaba of the Rhamanites, from whence, as said above, he was obliged to retreat. Pliny, 6, 28, § 160, describes his exploits more amply: "Gallus oppida diruit non nominata ab auctoribus qui ante scripserunt, Negrānam, Nestum (*var.* Amnestrum), Nescam, Magusam (*var.* Masugam), Caminacum, Labeciam, et supra dictam Mariabam, circuitu VI. mill. pass., item Caripetam quo longissime processit." He does not mention the town of the Rhamanites, because, as the Romans were defeated under its walls, it did not suit his vainglorious bulletin. It will be observed that both authors agree that the fight and conquest began at Nejran. This is important for us, because, save the variants *Ἀγραιον* in Strabo and Negrām in Pliny, the name has been preserved unaltered, and it affords us an incontrovertible basis for our inquiries.

If we proceed from Nejran in the direction of Mârib (S.S.E.), we enter on the third day the Jôf of the Hamdân (جوف همدان), a valley one and a half day's journey long, and in its lower (southern) part one day's journey wide. Its axis runs from N.N.W. to S.S.E. It is watered by four rivers, the greatest of which, and the only one that has water all the year, is al-Khârid; and this is the river on the banks of which the Arabs attempted to oppose Gallus's progress. Hamdâny, p. 144, gives a detailed description of al-Khârid. It enters the Jôf in its south-western angle, after having collected the water of the high table-land round Çan'â, and of al-Baun, and received a tributary, al-Sirr, coming from the south. The men opposed to the Romans belonged to the eastern Hamdân tribes, *viz.* Dalân, Yâm, Nihm, Nashq, 'Alyân, Shâkir. There may also have been some Murâd tribes engaged. Captain S. B. Miles has favoured me with a letter from a friend of his at 'Aden, in which two or three of the towns conquered by Gallus are mentioned, and I therefore insert the geographical portion of the letter in the original, with translation.

قد وصل إلينا رجل اسمه السلطان، يحيى بن الحسين من أهالي
الجوف وله معرفة المدن المأربية والجوفية وهذه أسماء المدن التي
أخبرنا بها وهي البيضاء والسودا والمصلوب وكمنا والقيش وهرم ومعين
ولكبك ومثمع وسراقة وينبا والحزم وسعود والأساحل وأم القيس
والمندفن وفيه معدن فضة وبراقش وأخبرني بمباني عظيمة كلها رخام
وأن بعض الأعمدة لا تقدر إلا ألف من الناس أن توقعها في الأرض بل
ولا تحركها ولم يكن بالقرب من هذه الأعمدة العظيمة جبال رخام بل
كانوا يأتون بها من سفر أيام

"There has come to us a man of the name of Sultân Yahyâ bin al-Ḥosayn, one of the inhabitants of Jôf. He is acquainted with the towns of Mârib and Jôf, and the following is a list of the towns he mentioned to us: al-Baydhâ (*i.e.* the white), al-Sôdâ (the black, he means white Khariba خربة, which, in the days of Hamdâny, belonged to the Banû Dâlân and black Khariba, which belonged to the Shâkir), al-Maḥlûb, Kamnâ (also mentioned by Hamdâny as situated in Jôf, is Pliny's Caminacum), al-Haqash, Haram, Ma'y'n (a famous castle), Lakbak (Pliny's Labecia), Maq'am, Sorâqa, Yanabbâ, al-Ḥazm, Sa'ûd, al-Asâhil, Umm-al-Qays, al-Mundafin, where there is a silver mine, and Barâqish. He informed me that there are grand buildings entirely constructed of sandstone. Some pillars are so large that thousands of men could not have been able to put them into the ground or even to move them. Yet there are no mountains of sandstone in the vicinity of the pillars, and they had been brought from a distance of several days."

There is another place which we are able to identify, and that is Nesca. Its Arabic name is 'Omran. It is the capital of the district held by the tribe Nashq (نشق), situated on the Khârid river; and it seems that, as frequently happens in Arabia, it was also known by the name of its inhabitants. Nesca was well known to the ancients. Pliny, § 155, mentions it on another authority under the name of Nascus;

and in some copies of Ptolemy Nascus is substituted for Maocosmus (*i.e.* Gaww-Khidhrima). ‘Omrân (عمران) occurs first in a document written by order of Moḥammed (see *Leben des Moh.* vol. iii., p. 455, where ‘Omrân al-Gauf, instead of ‘Omrân algorf, is to be read). Strabo’s Asca is hardly different from Nasca. The preceding word, *καλουμένην*, ends with *n*, and the copyist seems to have thought it superfluous to write this letter twice. There remain three towns—Nestus, Magusa, and Strabo’s Athrulla—which I have not succeeded in identifying; but there is little doubt they were also situated in Jôf.

From Jôf, Gallus marched on the celebrated capital of the Sabæans, Mârib. The distance from Barâqish, the last town of Jôf, is, according to Ibn Mojâwir, only eight (heavy) farsangs. We are at a loss to make the statements of Pliny and Strabo in reference to Gallus’s operations before this town agree. Pliny asserts he took Mârib, proceeded thence to Caripeta, and there commenced his retreat. If we allow ourselves to be guided by the similarity of names, we identify Caripeta with one of the two Khariba (Baydhâ or Sôdâ); and assuming that this is the last place which Gallus has taken, we call the assertion that he succeeded in entering Mârib into doubt. In this case Strabo’s Marsyaba of the Rhamanites, before which Gallus was defeated, would be the famous Mârib. But resemblance of names by itself is an extremely unsafe guide. So many towns in Yemen have the same name that there may also be a Khariba or Kharibat (خربة), which means ‘ruin,’ on the other side of Mârib, or Gallus may have passed and sacked Khariba in Jôf in his retreat. Moreover, it would be contrary to everything we know of ancient geography if Mârib was called the town of the Rhamanites; since the Greeks, the Romans, the Jews, and the Arabs agree in considering it as the capital of the Sabæans (Sheba). I think the text of Strabo has here, as in many other passages, been disfigured, and that he said: Gallus proceeded to the town Marsyaba (Mârib), and thence to the town of the Rhamanites.

Strabo says, at the town of the Rhamanites Gallus was, as

he learned from prisoners of war, only two days' journey from the perfume region. The spot which we assign to the town of the Rhamanites must satisfy this condition, besides the two already known to us: that it be beyond Mârib, and not more than nine days' journey from Nejrân. Looking at Marib's geographical position, at the verge of the eastern desert, we find that Gallus had only two ways to pursue his thereto glorious career of conquest. He might attempt to push on to Hâdhramaut, and thence to the far-distant frankincense region. His way would have led him towards E.N.E., and in a day or two he would have reached Tomna, the ancient capital of the Kattabeni (Qodhâ'a); from Tomna he would have had to march five days through a desert without water, varied merely by the salt-mines (جبل الملح) half-way between Mârib and the first town of Hâdhramaut. The inhabitants of Tomna were also called Gebanites, and, for reasons which it would lead too far to explain, they might also be denominated Radmânites (Rhamanites). Moreover, the road from Tomna to Nejrân is less than nine marches; and, therefore, Tomna may answer to Strabo's town of the Rhamanites. But there is no perfume region beyond Tomna but a desert. The other road to new conquests leads from Mârib up the Wâdiy Âdzina, in a south-westerly direction, towards Bayhân and Radmân. This is the shortest way from Mârib to Tzafâr (ظفار), for some time the capital of Yemen; and if Gallus had been successful, this route would have led him to the conquest of "that part of Arabia which is separated from Æthiopia only by a narrow barrier"—as were his instructions, it would appear. This is the route which Gallus took. Pliny mentions an Arab tribe of the name of Rhadamites, and, in another place, an Arab town of the name of Nagia. The two modes of spelling, Rhamanites and Rhadamites, converge to Radmânites. Genealogists consider Radmân (ردمان) as a son of Nâjia (ناجية). Of the position of the district Radmân I have spoken above. Various branches of the tribe Nâjia live east and south of Radmân, and one of their cities is Pliny's Nagia. 'Perfume

region' (*ἀρωματοφόρος*) is a vague term, and properly applicable only to the frankincense country, which is far far off. It is clear Strabo means Ptolemy's *Regio Myrrhifera exterior*, which begins about two days south of Radmân. In Baron von Maltzan's map we find to three places of the corresponding country the note "coffee" appended, and it appears the inhabitants find it now more profitable to plant 'Moka' than to grow myrrh. The result of our inquiry is, that the Roman army penetrated into Arabia as far as Radmân, and that there it was driven back by the tribes whom the Arabs comprehend under the name Madzhij (مذحج), assisted perhaps by the Himyaritic tribes called 'Ans (عنس).

ART. VII.—*An Account of Jerusalem, translated for the late Sir H. M. ELLIOT, from the Persian text of Nāṣir ibn Khusrū's Safarnāmah, by the late Major A. R. FULLER.*

On the 3rd of Ramazán, I left Ramlah, and went to a village called Khátún, and from thence to another, which they styled Kariatu-l-'Anab (Grape hamlet). On the road I observed plenty of wild rue growing spontaneously on hill and dale. I also noticed at this village a very delightful spring of water gushing out of a rock, where they had constructed reservoirs, and built edifices. From thence I proceeded up some rising ground, under the impression that I was ascending a hill, and that on going down the other side the city would lie before me. After I had climbed the ascent however for a short way, a vast wilderness lay in my front, partly stony, and partly showing merely the bare earth. At the summit of the hill stands the city of the "Baitu-l-Muḥaddas" (Sacred Tabernacle, *i.e.* Jerusalem), between which and Tarábulis, which is on the coast, are 56 *parasangs*, and from Balkh to Jerusalem 876.

On the 5th of Ramazán, 438, I entered Jerusalem, one solar year having elapsed since I quitted my home, during the whole of which period I had been prosecuting my travels, without enjoying rest or comfort anywhere. The people of Shám and that quarter call Jerusalem "Kuds," and such of the inhabitants of those climes as are unable to go to Mecca at that season tarry at Jerusalem, and remain stationary there, till they have celebrated the 'Id-i-Kurbán according to immemorial custom. Some years it happens that upwards of 20,000 souls are congregated together there in the early part of the month of Zí-l-hijjah, and they take their children there and circumcise them. Christians and Jews also flock there in great numbers from the countries of Rúm and other places, to visit the Church and Temple. A description of this superb Church shall be

duly inserted in its proper place. The environs and villages of Jerusalem are all among the hills, and all the crops, as well as olive and fig trees, etc., are raised without irrigation. The produce is nevertheless abundant and cheap. There are heads of families who collect as much as 50,000 *maunds* of olive-oil each. It is placed in cisterns and tanks, and is sent to all parts of the world. It is said, too, that famine has never prevailed in the land of Syria, and I myself have heard from credible authorities, that the Prophet (on whom be peace and blessings!) saw in a dream a certain great man addressing him thus: "O Prophet of God, assist me in obtaining my daily food." This latter replied: "Help yourself to the bread and olives of Syria."

I will now describe the city of Jerusalem. It is perched on the top of a hill, and possesses no supply of water except from rain; for although the neighbouring hamlets have springs, there are none within the town itself. It is encircled with solid ramparts of masonry and earth (*gağ*), and is fitted with iron gates. Not a single tree grows near the city, as it is founded on a rocky soil. The town is large, for at the time I saw it it contained 20,000 souls, as well as fine bazaars and splendid edifices. Its streets are paved with flagstones, and wherever there had been originally a rise, it had been cut away and levelled; so that whenever rain fell, the pavement was washed quite clean. There are numerous artificers in the town, each craft occupying a separate quarter. The *Jámi'* Mesjid is towards the east, and the eastern rampart of the city is strong. After passing *Sámirah* through the *Jámi'*, there is a level wilderness ahead of vast extent, which they denominate "*Sámirah*," and it is said that that is to be the plain of the day of judgment, where the resurrection of mankind will take place. For this reason hosts of people have come from all quarters of the globe to this spot, and taken up their residence in the city with the view of dying there, so that when the promise of Almighty God shall be fulfilled, they may be present at the appointed spot. O God! in that day be thou the help of thy servants, and thy clemency their safeguard, O Lord of

mankind! At the edge of that desert is a large cemetery, and several spacious places, in which people pray, and raise their hands in supplication; whilst in return the Almighty sanctions their requests.

O Allah! grant thou our desires, pardon our sins and iniquities, and have mercy on us with thy everlasting kindness, O most merciful! Between the Jámí' Mesjid and this wilderness of Sámirah, there is a valley of immense depth, and in this valley, which is just like a moat, are spacious edifices in the style of the ancients. I also saw a stone cupola surmounting a building, which it is the greatest wonder how it could have been raised up. The current report is, that this is Pharaoh's mansion. That valley is the Valley of Hell. I inquired who had bestowed this title on the place, and was told that in the time of 'Umar Khatáb's "Khalífat" (may the Lord be gracious unto him!) he pitched his camp in that wilderness of Sámirah, and on looking down on the valley, exclaimed: "This is the Valley of Death." The common people further assert, that every one who approaches the brink of the valley hears the cries of the inmates of hell issuing from it; but for my own part I heard nothing on going there. On going half a *parasang* out of the city in a southerly direction, and descending into a hollow, you find a spring gushing forth from the rock, which is called the "Fount of Salwán." Numerous buildings have been erected at the spring-head, and its waters flow in a village, where hosts of villas and gardens have been planted. It is said that whosoever bathes from head to foot in that stream, rids himself of pains and illnesses of the longest standing; and this spring has consequently been enriched with many pious endowments.

There is an excellent hospital at Jerusalem, which is also handsomely endowed for charitable purposes, and has numbers of patients. These are provided with medicines and cooling draughts, and the physicians belonging to this establishment draw their emoluments from the charitable funds. The Friday mosque is on the borders of the city towards the east: one of its walls lies adjacent to the

Valley of Death; and when you look at this wall from the exterior of the building, you see it for 100 yards built up of huge blocks of stone, having no mortar or cement in their interstices. Inside the Mosque the top of the walls is all straight, and it is on account of the "ṣakhrāh" stone that was there, that the Mosque has been erected on that very spot. This "ṣakhrāh" stone is that which Almighty God commanded Moses (on whom be peace!) to make the "qiblah." As soon as this mandate was issued, and Moses had made it the "qiblah," he did not long survive, but met his death in a very short space of time. Both up to the days of Sulaiman (on whom be peace!), when as this "ṣakhrāh" formed the "qiblah," they erected a Mosque round about it, inasmuch that the stone stood in the centre of the said Mosque, and was the point to which all people turned; as well as to the time of our Prophet Muhammad the Elect (may peace and blessings rest on him!), they had ever held that to be the "qiblah," and thither were they accustomed to turn their faces in prayer, till such time as the Almighty commanded that the "ka'bah" should be the site of the "qiblah." A description of this will follow in its proper place.

I wished to take measurements of this Mosque, but said to myself, I will first inspect its form and shape, so as thoroughly to understand them, after which I will commence measuring. I roamed about for a very long time in that Mosque, looking over it, and at length, on the northern side, which is contiguous to the dome of Ya'qūb (on whom be peace!), I observed an inscription on a tablet, to the effect that the Mosque was 704 yards long, and 455 yards broad by the "malak" measure, and the "malak" yard is what they call the "shaigān" yard in Khurāsān, and that is either an ordinary one and a half or somewhat less. The floor is paved with flagstones, the joinings being stopped up with lead. The Mosque lies to the east of the city and bazaar, so that as you go from the bazaar to the Mosque, you proceed in an easterly direction. There is a fine large "dargāh," measuring 30 yards in height by 20 in breadth. There are two wings to the "dargāh," and the face of the

wings and hall of the "dargáh" are ornamented all over with pieces of particoloured glass, which they have set in cement according to any pattern they pleased; insomuch that the eye becomes dazzled on looking at it. In like manner, an inscription in variegated glass has been made on the "dargáh," on which is written the title of the Sultán of Egypt, and when the sunshine lights upon it, the effect of its rays is so enchanting as to bewilder the intellect. This "dargáh" is surmounted by a dome of vast size formed of hewn stone, and provided with two doors constructed with great taste, which are studded with Damascene brass, looking as if it were pure gold. Numerous designs are also executed on them, each one 15 yards high by 8 broad. These they call the "Gate of David" (on whom be peace!); and after passing through the two doors, you find on the right a couple of large colonnades, consisting of 29 marble pillars, each with ornamental capitals and plinths, all the joinings of which are filled in with lead. On the top of the pillars rest arches of stone without any mortar or cement, each arch comprising not more than four or five blocks, and these colonnades extend nearly as far as the "makşúrah." After entering the door on the left-hand side, which is to the north, a very long colonnade extends, consisting of 64 arches resting on marble columns. There is another gate in this same wall, which they style the "Gate of Hell." The length of the Mosque runs from north to south; so when the "makşúrah" is cut off from it, there remains a square quadrangle, with the "kiblah" lying on the south, while on the north are two other doorways alongside of each other, measuring 7 yards by 12 each; and these they denominate the "Gate of the Tribes." After passing through this gate, along the breadth of the Mosque, which runs towards the east, there is again another "dargáh" of immense size, in which are three doors alongside of one another, of the same dimensions as those of the "Gate of the Tribes." They are tastefully bound with brass and iron, so much so that there are scarcely any handsomer ones; and they style these the "Gate of gates," inasmuch as the rest are only double doors, but this

is a treble one. Midway between these two "dargáhs" that are on the north, and in this colonnade, whose arches are resting on pillars, there is a dome raised to a considerable height on lofty columns, and decorated with lamps and lustres, which they call the "Dome of Jacob" (on whom be peace!), and say that it used to be his oratory. Along the breadth of the Mosque runs a colonnade, in the wall of which there is a door, and outside the door two "darwízáh" (cloisters?) belonging to the "Súfis," where they have built fine oratories and alcoves, in which a number of their persuasion dwell and offer up their prayers. On Fridays, however, they enter the Mosque, because the voice scarcely reaches them. At the northern corner of the Mosque is a fine colonnade, surmounted by a large and handsome cupola, on which is written: "This is the cloister of Zakaríá, the prophet, may peace be with him!" and it is said that on this spot he pursued his devotions without any intermission. By the eastern wall, towards the centre of the Mosque, stands a large "dargáh," elegantly built of hewn stone, and looking as if it had been cut out of a single block. It is 50 yards in height, and 30 in breadth, covered with painting and carving, and provided with ten doors, so closely placed that there is no more than a pillar between every two. The doors themselves are very elaborately bound with Damascene iron and brass, and studded with rings and nails. This "dargáh," they say, is the work of Solomon, the son of David (on whom be peace!), and that he built it for his father. On entering the "dargáh," with your face towards the east, of the two doors, that which is on your right hand is styled the "Gate of Mercy," and the other the "Gate of Penitence." The latter is said to be the one at which the Almighty accepted the contrition of David (may peace be on him!). By this "dargáh," too, is a handsome Mosque, which once upon a time was only a portico, but the portico was subsequently made into a Mosque. It is embellished with all sorts of carpets, and possesses an establishment of servants exclusively for its own use. Crowds of people flock thither to

offer up their supplications, and seek a spiritual intercourse with Almighty God; for inasmuch as David's repentance was accepted on that spot, everybody is inspired with fervent hope, and refrains from sin. They say that: "Scarcely had David (on whom be peace!) advanced a step inside from this threshold, when by divine inspiration came the glad tidings that the Most High had accepted his contrition. He then remained standing on the self-same spot, and occupied himself in humble adoration." I too, who am called Násir, offered up my prayers at that place, and besought Almighty and Gracious God to favour me with his grace, and purify me from all wickedness. And may the Almighty bestow his grace, or so much of it as may seem good to his will, on all his servants, and grant that they repent of their transgressions, through the honour of Muhammad and his immaculate descendants!

Going along the eastern wall, as soon as you reach the southern end of it, you find the "qiblah" occupying the southern angle; while before the northern wall is a Mosque with subterranean chambers, to reach which it is necessary to go down a long flight of steps. Its dimensions are 20 yards by 15, and it is covered with a masonry roof resting on marble columns. In this place is deposited the cradle of 'Isa' [Jesus Christ] (on whom be peace!), which is formed of stone, and so capacious that people say their prayers in it, and I myself performed my devotions there. It has also been so firmly planted in the ground that it does not move in the least, and this is the very cradle in which Jesus during his infancy lay and conversed with various persons. The cradle has been placed in this Mosque in lieu of a cloister, and the same building contains besides the cloister of Mariam [the Virgin Mary] (on whom be peace!) on the eastern side, and there is another, that of Zakaríá [Zacharias] (may peace be on him!). Most of the texts of the Korán that have been revealed regarding Zakaríá and Mariam are inscribed on those cloisters, and it is even said that this Mosque was the very birthplace of Jesus (on whom be peace!). A certain stone in one of the columns bears the

marks of a couple of fingers, just as if some one had squeezed it with his two fingers; and they say that Mariam, while in the very pangs of delivery, seized that pillar with her fingers. This Mosque is in fact celebrated for the cradle of Jesus (may peace be with him!), and numerous lamps of brass and silver are suspended inside it, which continue burning throughout the night.

After passing by the door of this Mosque also along the eastern wall, when you reach the corner of the great Mosque, there is yet another one of handsome size, larger than that of the cradle of Jesus, which is called *El mesjidu-l-aḩṣa'*. This is the one to which the Almighty brought *Mustafa'* (may the peace and blessing of God rest on him!) on the night of his ascension from Mecca, and from hence he went up to Heaven, according to the words contained in the Kurán: "Praised be he who transported his servant at night from the *Mesjidu-l-harām* (the sacred temple at Mecca) to the *Mesjidu-l-aḩṣa'*." They have consequently erected a splendid edifice there, which is provided with elegant carpets, and a separate establishment of servants to minister to its care.

On returning to the southern wall for 200 yards from that angle, there is no covering or curtain ("poshish"); it is an open space; the "poshish" of the great Mosque, of which the "*maḩṣúrah*" forms part, is on the southern wall. The western side of this "poshish" is 420 yards long by 150 broad, and it comprises 280 marble columns, with a stone arch thrown over them. All the capitals and shafts of these are highly sculptured, and the joinings are filled in with lead, so that they could not possibly be made stronger. There is an interval of six yards between every two columns, and the whole place is laid down with variegated marble pavement, the joinings being filled in with lead. The "*maḩṣúrah*" stands in the centre of the southern wall, and is of considerable size, insomuch that it comprises 16 pillars, as well as a huge dome embellished with coloured glass, as has been already described. The interior is spread with African mats, whilst lamps and lustres are suspended

every here and there by chains. A large alcove has also been constructed, all covered with designs in glass, and on both sides of the alcove are two marble pillars of a ruby-coloured hue. The wainscoting of the "maḵṣúrah" is entirely of variegated marble; and on the right hand is the cloister of Mu'áwiah, while on the left is that of 'Omar (may the Lord have mercy on him!). The roof of this Mosque is hidden by tastefully carved woodwork.

Having next advanced to the door and wall of the "maḵṣúrah," adjoining the side of the courtyard, you find 15 doorways fitted with beautifully-finished doors, each 10 yards high by 6 broad; ten of the number being in the wall, which is 420 yards long, and five on that which is 150 only. Out of the whole of these doors, there is one of brass, constructed with the most exquisite beauty and taste, insomuch that you would say it was made of gold. It was figured with frosted silver, and had the name of Mámún the Khalífah on it, who is said to have forwarded it from Baghdád. When they throw open all the doors, the interior of the Mosque becomes so bright that you would think it was an open area without a roof; but when there happens to be wind and rain prevalent, and they do not open the doors, light comes in through the windows. On the four sides of this "poshish" are chests belonging to every one of the cities of Shám and Irák, and devotees seated about, just as in the sacred temple at Mecca (may God Almighty honour it!).

Outside the "poshish," by the immense wall which has been previously mentioned, is a colonnade with 42 arches, all the pillars of which are of variegated marble, and this colonnade is connected with the western one. Inside the "poshish" there is a reservoir in the ground for holding water, which when full comes up level with the surface of the earth; so that whenever it rains the water flows into that place. In the southern wall is a door, where there is a place for purifying oneself; so that if any one wants to perform his ablutions, he goes there and does so; because if a person had to go outside the Mosque, he would not

arrive in time for prayers, and the service would be lost to him owing to the magnitude of the edifice. The tops of the roofs are all sheeted with lead, and in the floor of the Mosque are numerous reservoirs and cisterns cut out of the ground; for the Mosque is founded altogether on rock, so that however much it may rain, not a drop of water can ooze out or be lost, but the whole runs into the cisterns, from whence people fetch it away. Aqueducts have also been made of lead, through which the water might descend; and stone reservoirs have been fixed below the aqueducts, each of which has a hole in the bottom part of it, and through this hole the water passes into a pipe, and so reaches the reservoir without getting dirty, and free from every impurity.

Within three *parasangs* of the city, too, I saw a huge reservoir, in which the whole of the waters that flow down from the hills is collected; and a canal has been made for it, which leads to the Jāmi' Mesjid of the town, and hence the Jāmi' possesses the most copious supply of water in the city. There are, however, reservoirs in all buildings for retaining rain-water; for there is nothing else but rain-water to be had. Every one, too, catches the water of his own roof, and the hot baths, and whatever else there may be, are all supplied from the same source. These reservoirs that are in the Jāmi' never require building up, as they are made out of the hard rock; and even if any hole or fissure should happen to be within, yet they are so substantial that they never go to ruin. It is said that they were constructed by Solomon (on whom be peace!), and the mouth of each cistern is so carefully closed with a grating, that nothing can possibly get into it but the water, which is certainly purer and sweeter in that city than anywhere else. If even but a slight shower falls, the aqueducts keep running for two or three days, insomuch that when the atmosphere clears up, and no signs of bad weather remain, drops of water still continue falling.

I mentioned that the city of Jerusalem was situated on the top of a hill, and that the ground was uneven; but the floor of

the Mosque is a plain and level surface. Outside the Mosque, wherever, in comparison with other points, there is a hollow, its wall is built up higher, because the foundations are laid down in the low ground; and wherever there is a rise, the wall is lower. In that quarter, therefore, in which the town and streets are down in a hollow, the entrances to the Mosque are constructed just like subterranean passages cut through the soil, which lead out into the area of the building. Of those gates they call one the "Gate of the Prophet" (on whom be blessings and peace!), and this lies on the side of the "kiblah," that is to say, the south. It has been so constructed as to measure ten yards wide, and in one place five yards high as above the steps, that is to say, the roof of this passage is twenty yards high in some places. The curtain of the Mosque rests on its top; but the passage is so solid, that a building of that magnitude erected on its back had not the least effect upon it.

Such huge stones have been used in its construction that the mind cannot conceive how human strength could ever succeed in moving and transporting the blocks. It is said that Solomon, the son of David (on both of whom be peace!), erected the edifice, and that our Prophet (may blessings and peace rest on him!) entered by that passage the night of his ascension, for the gate is on the side of the road from Mecca. Near the gate there is an impression on the wall in the shape of a huge shield, and they say that Ḥamzah, the son of 'Abdu-l-muṭṭalib, uncle to the Prophet (on whom be peace!), sat down there once with a buckler strapped on his shoulders, and leant his back against the wall, and consequently that that is the image of his buckler. At this gate of the Mosque, where they have made this entrance passage, and fitted folding-doors to it, the wall of the building from outside rises to the height of fifty yards; and the object of making those doors has been to obviate the necessity of the people of that quarter, which adjoins this angle of the Mosque, passing through other quarters of the town when they want to enter its precincts. By the Mosque gate, too, is a stone let into the wall, eleven yards in height and four in length

and breadth; and throughout the building there is not a larger block to be met with than this, though there are plenty of four and five yards, which have been placed on the wall at an elevation of thirty or forty yards. Along the width of the Mosque you will find an eastern door called Bábu-l'-ain (Gate of the Eyes), on passing through which to the outside, and descending into a ravine, you come to the spring of Salwán. There is likewise another entrance passing in like manner under ground, which is styled Bábu-l-Khatt (Gate of the Letter), and this they say is the very door by which Almighty God commanded the Children of Israel to enter the Mosque, according to the word of the Lord: "Enter ye the gate with adoration, and repeat the prayer for the remission of sins; for we pardon you your iniquities, and will favour the righteous." There is likewise another door of the same description, which they call the Bábu-s-sakinah (Gate of the Shechinah or Tabernacle). At its threshold is a Mosque with numerous alcoves, and its first door is always kept shut, to prevent any one from entering it. It is said that the ark of the tabernacle, spoken of by Almighty God in the Kurán as carried by angels, is deposited there. The whole of the gates of the Jámí' at Jerusalem, both upper and lower, amount to nine, as has been already detailed.

Description of the shop, or shrine, which is situated within the area of the Jámí', and in the middle of which is placed the "şakhrâh" stone, that formed the "kiblah" previous to the propagation of Islâm.—The shrine has been built on this account, *viz.* because the "şakhrâh" was so lofty that they were unable to put it under the "poshish." The foundation of the building covers an area of 330 yards by 300, and its height is 12 yards. The floor of it is level and elegantly paved with marble, and its walls are of the same material, their joinings being filled in with lead. All four sides of it, too, are formed of slabs of marble like the screenwork round a tomb. This shrine is so constructed that it is impossible to ascend to it at any point, except by the regular passages made for that purpose; and

when you have mounted up to it, you look down upon the roof of the Mosque. A reservoir has also been sunk under ground inside this shrine, into which runs all the rain-water that falls on the spot, and the water of this reservoir is purer and sweeter than all the rest in the Mosque. There are four domed buildings in this shrine, the largest of all being that containing the "şakhrāh," which was formerly the "kiblah."

Description of the domed building containing the "şakhrāh."—The plan of the Mosque is such, that the shrine stands in the midst of the courtyard, the domed building of the "şakhrāh" in the middle of the shrine, and the "şakhrāh" itself in the centre of that building. The latter is of a regular octagonal shape, insomuch that every one of its eight sides measures 33 yards; and there are four doors on four sides of it, viz., to the east, west, north, and south, one side intervening between every two doors. The walls are made entirely of hewn stone raised to the height of 20 yards, while the "şakhrāh" is as much as 100 yards in girth, but has no regular figure; that is to say, it is neither round nor square, but a mis-shapen block of stone, just like the rough rocks on a hill. On the four sides of the "şakhrāh" four square pillars have been planted, of the same height as the wall of the aforesaid building, and between every two pillars, on all the four sides, marble columns have been erected, all as high as the other pillars. On the top of these twelve pillars and columns rests the base of the dome, beneath which the "şakhrāh" stands, and its circumference is 120 yards. Between the wall of the building and these pillars and columns;—that is to say, I designate all such as have been erected of a square figure pillars, and such as are hewn out of a solid block and made of a round form I style columns;—now between these said columns and the wall of the building six more pillars of hewn stone have been erected, between each two of which three supports of valuable variegated marble have been set up. Just as in the first row there was a pair of columns between every two pillars, here there

are three supports between every two pillars. The capitals of the pillars have been made with four branches, from each of which springs an arch, while those of the intermediate supports have only two branches; so that the extremities of two arches rest on each of the latter, and the ends of four on each of the former. At that time the appearance of this vast dome resting on its twelve pillars, which is close to the "şakhrāh," was such, that on viewing it from the distance of a full *parasang*, it seemed like the crest of a mountain; for from the base to the summit of the dome, is 30 yards, and it is raised on top of walls and pillars 20 yards high, which form the walls of the building. This building again is perched above the shrine, which has an elevation of 12 yards, and consequently from the level of the courtyard of the Mosque to the top of the dome is 62 yards. The roof and terrace of this building are hid beneath carved woodwork, and supported on the capitals of columns and pillars, as well as walls, exhibiting a style of workmanship the like of which is seldom met with. The "şakhrāh" stands above the ground as much as the stature of a man, and a marble screen has been placed around it, so that no hand may touch it. It is a stone of a dark blue hue, on which no man has ever dared to set foot; but on the side where the "kiblah" lies it has a hollow in one place of such a kind that you would say it had been walked over on that part and the foot had sunk into the stone, just as if it were soft clay in which the marks of the toes have been left. In this way the impression of seven steps are fixed upon it. I have heard that Abraham (on whom be peace!), and Isaac (on whom also be peace!) while yet a child, went there, and that these are the marks of their feet. In this building over the "şakhrāh" there are always numbers of people dwelling, consisting of holy and devout men; and the place itself is elegantly furnished with carpets of silk, etc. From the centre of the building, too, right above the "şakhrāh," is suspended a silver lamp by a chain of the same precious metal, and there are also numerous other silver lustres within the edifice, on each of which is written that its weight is so much; and all these

have been provided by the Sultán of Egypt. On calculating, therefore, I ascertained that there were a thousand *maunds* of silver ware in the place. I noticed a candle there, too, of gigantic proportions, insomuch that its length was seven yards and its girth three spans, which seemed made of perfumed camphor and ambergris ; and they say the Sultán of Egypt forwards numbers of candles there every year, one of which is large in comparison with that. The name of the Sultán, too, is inscribed on the place in characters of gold, and the building itself is, as it were, the third temple-house of Almighty God ; for it is an admitted fact among the sages of the faith, that every prayer offered up in Jerusalem is as acceptable as 25,000 others ; while every one uttered at Medina, the city of the Prophet (on whom be blessings and peace !), is accounted equal to 50,000, and every one offered up at Mecca (may the Lord honour her !) to 100,000. And may Almighty God bestow on all his servants the grace to enjoy that blessing !

I have already stated that the whole of the terraces and roofs of the domes were laid over with lead, and on the four sides of the building were fixed huge folding-doors made of wood and ebony, and these doors are always closed. After this building came a domed edifice, called the "Dome of the Chain," which derives its title from the chain of David (on whom be peace !) that is hung up there ; and on that none save the lord of justice can lay his hand, for the arm of the tyrant and oppressor cannot reach it ; and this fact is universally acknowledged among learned divines. This dome is supported on eight marble columns and six stone pillars ; and all the sides of it are open except towards the "kiblah," which is completely shut up. A fine alcove has also been made there. On this shrine is another dome, resting on four marble columns, which is likewise closed upon the side of the "kiblah," and has a fine alcove constructed in it. This is styled the dome of Jibrail [Gabriel] (may peace be on him !), but it is not paved ; for the ground itself consists of rock, which has been rendered level. They say that on the night of the ascension the "burák" was brought

to this spot, for our Prophet (on whom be blessings and peace!) to mount on. Behind this dome is another one, called the "Dome of the Apostle" (on whom be blessings and peace!), and the distance between it and that of Jibráíl is twenty yards. This dome likewise rests upon four pillars of marble, and it is said that the Prophet on the night of his ascension first performed his devotions in the domed edifice of the "şakhráh," and placed his hand on the "şakhráh" itself. When he went out, therefore, the "şakhráh," out of respect to him, rose up; but the Prophet (on whom be peace!) once more laid his hand on it, so that it settled down again in its former position; and to the present day it is half suspended in the air. The Prophet then came from thence to this domed building, which is called after him, and took his seat on the "burák," and from this circumstance arises the sanctity of the spot. Underneath the "şakhráh" is a huge cavern, so dark that candles are kept constantly burning there; and they say that this hollow appeared below the "şakhráh" when it went through the motion of rising up, and remained so after the latter had settled down again.

Description of the flights of steps leading to the shrine, which stands in the courtyard of the Jámi'.—In six quarters there are roads up to the shrine, each of which has a different name. From the side of the "qiblah" are two roads, with steps leading upwards, and as you stand in the very centre of the shrine, one of these flights of steps is on your right hand, and the other on your left. The former is styled the "Place of the Prophet" (on whom be peace!), and the latter that of "'Aurí." The Place of the Prophet is so named, because, on the night of his ascension, he ascended those steps to the shrine, and from thence proceeded to the domed edifice of the "şakhráh," and the road from Hejáz also passes over that spot. At present the width of these steps is 20 yards, the whole of them being formed of finely hewn stone, insomuch that each step consists of only one or two blocks cut square, and so regularly constructed, that if you wished it, a quadruped could walk up them. At the top of the flight of steps are

four pillars of green marble, exactly resembling emerald, with the exception that these slabs are covered all over with spots of every imaginable colour. The height of each of these pillars is ten yards, and the girth as much as two men can encompass in their arms. Over these four pillars three arches have been thrown, so that one faces the steps, and the other two look to either side. The upper parts of the arches are made straight, and are surmounted with niched battlements, so that the whole appears square. All these pillars and arches too are covered with enamelled designs, the most beautiful in existence. The parapet of the shrine is also entirely of spotted green marble, and looks just as if it were a parterre of blooming flowers. The Place of 'Aurí consists of three flights of steps leading up to the same quarter, one fronting the shop, and two on either side of it, so that people can ascend from three different points. Here likewise are planted the same sort of pillars at the top of the treble flight of steps, with an arch thrown over them, and crowned with battlements. The steps are also formed of hewn stone in the same fashion as I have already described, each one consisting of only two or three long blocks. On the façade of the portico the following inscription was beautifully written in letters of gold: "Founded by the Amír Laisu-d-daulah Toshtakín Ghúri,"—and they say this Laisu-d-daulah was a servant of the Sultán of Egypt; and that these roads and steps were made by him. On the western side too of the shop there are flights of steps in two places, and a road formed with elegance equal to that which I have described in the other instances. On the eastern side likewise a road has been made with similar good taste, and pillars have been erected, arches thrown over them, and battlements placed above all; and that they call the "Eastern Place." On the northern side is a road loftier and larger than all the rest, with pillars and arches of the same description, which they style the "Place of Ash-Shámí." I calculated that in the construction of these six roads, 100,000 *dinárs* must have been expended.

In the courtyard of the Mosque, not in the shrine, there is a spot where a diminutive Mosque of hewn stone stands on the northern side, which is built like the inclosure round a tomb. Its walls are not above the height of a man, and it is called the "Cloister of David." Close to the inclosure there is a stone as high as the stature of a human being, the top of which is such that a small blanket (*zítú*) can be spread upon it. It is of an irregular shape, and they say that it was Solomon's throne. They also told me that Solomon (on whom be peace!) sat down there while the Mosque was being built. I had observed the above in the *Jámi'* of Jerusalem, and after reflecting upon it, had entered it on the same day in the diary that I kept. Among other remarkable objects in the Mosque of Jerusalem, I saw the tree of the Huris (*Davakht Húr*).

I then set out from Jerusalem to visit the shrine of Abraham, the friend of the Most Merciful (on whom be blessings and peace!), on Wednesday, the 1st *Zí-l-ka'dah* 438. From Jerusalem to that spot where the tomb stands is six *parasangs*, and along this road, which goes towards the south, there are numerous villages, with plenty of cultivated fields, and gardens, and trees that require no water, such as the vine, fig, olive, and "*summák*," growing in endless profusion. At a couple of *parasangs* from the city are four villages, where there is a spring and an abundance of gardens, and groves, and they call the place *Farádes*, the fine place of the road. At the distance of a *parasang* from the city of Jerusalem, is a spot that is considered extremely sacred by the Christians, a party of whom are constantly resident there, while numbers of pilgrims also repair thither. They call it "*Baitu-l-lahm*" (House of Flesh), and the Christians perform the sacrifice there, and numbers of them come there from *Rúm*. The day I departed from the city I passed the night at that place.

Description of *Khalíl* (the friend, or Abraham, *i.e.* his shrine). (May the blessings of God be on him!)

This tomb they call *Khalíl* throughout Syria and Jerusalem, never mentioning the name of the village, which is (name

doubtful). The village is an endowment of the shrine, together with several other villages. At this place is a spring issuing out of the rock, the small supply of water from which is conveyed close to the village from a long distance in a hollow wooden pipe. Outside the village a reservoir, with a closed mouth, has been formed for receiving this water, so that none of it may be lost, and there may always be a sufficiency for the inhabitants of the place, as well as for the pilgrims visiting it. The sepulchre stands on the confines of the village towards the south, or rather the south-east. It is a quadrangle, built of hewn stone, measuring 80 yards long by 40 broad, the walls of which are 20 yards in height and 2 in breadth at the top. Along the breadth of this building an alcove and "maḵṣúrah" has been formed, and inside the latter many other fine alcoves have been constructed. The "maḵṣúrah" likewise contains two tombs, placed so as to have their heads in the direction of the "ḵiblah"; and both of these are built up of hewn stone to the height of a man. The one on the right-hand side is the grave of Isaac, the son of Abraham; the other that of his wife (on whom be peace!), and the interval of the tombs is as much as 10 yards. The floor and walls of this cemetery are adorned with valuable tapestry and African mats, which look handsomer even than brocade. I observed a mat there, used as a prayer-carpet, which was said to have been sent by "Amiru-l-juyúsh," a servant of the Sultán of Egypt. They declared that he had purchased this article in Egypt for 30 African *dinárs* of gold; a similar quantity of Rúmí brocade would not be worth that price, and I certainly never saw anything equal to it elsewhere. On going outside the "maḵṣúrah," you find two chambers in the area of the shrine, both facing the "ḵiblah." The one on the right contains the tomb of Abraham the faithful (may the blessings of God be on him!), and is of considerable size. There is a second chamber inside it, round which it is impossible to pass, but it has four wickets, through which pilgrims, while they circle round the outer chamber, can view the tomb as they pass each one in succession. Its

floor and walls are covered with brocaded tapestry and carpets, while the grave is built up as high as three yards of stone, and numerous silver lamps and lustres are suspended all about. The other chamber, which is on the left-hand side of the "kiblah," contains the grave of Sarah, the wife of Abraham (on whom be peace!). Between the two chambers runs a passage, over which stands the gate of either like a porch; and there likewise numbers of lamps and lustres are suspended. After passing both these chambers, you find two more sepulchres, near each other; on the right-hand side the tomb of the prophet Jacob (on whom be peace!), and on the left that of his wife. Beyond these again are some buildings which constituted the stage for resting place of Abraham (may the blessings of God rest on him!). In this shrine, therefore, there are altogether six graves, and outside the inclosure is a slope leading down to the sepulchre of Joseph, the son of Jacob (peace be on them both!), to which they have built a fine dome and a tomb of stone. On the side towards the desert, they have made a vast cemetery between Joseph's dome and the shrine, whither they have brought and buried numbers of people from various places. On the terrace of the "makşúrah" that is in the shrine, rooms have been made for guests arriving there, and many charitable endowments, consisting of villages and fruitful crops, have been bestowed on them.

In Jerusalem, as well as here, barley is most generally cultivated, while wheat is scarce, but of olives there is an abundance. To all guests, travellers, and pilgrims, therefore they give bread and olives, and numbers of mills, worked by mules and oxen, are constantly grinding flour, while plenty of female servants are engaged all day in baking bread, and every one of their loaves weighs a *maund*. To every one arriving at that spot they present a loaf of bread, and a measure of lentils cooked with olive-oil, daily, as well as some raisins, and this custom has continued in vogue from the time of Abraham, the friend of the Most Merciful (may peace be with him!), until the present moment. Sometimes it happens that 500 people come there of a day, and enter-

tainment of this description is provided for all of them. It is said that they made no door at all to this cemetery at first, and no one was able to enter it, so that people used to perform their pilgrimage to it outside the porch; but as soon as Mehdí was seated on the throne of Egypt, he ordered a door to be opened into it, which was accordingly done. It was also furnished throughout with several necessities, such as carpets and hangings, and various additional buildings were made. The gate of the shrine is in the middle of the northern wall, and stands four yards high from the ground. Stone steps have been made on either side, by one of which you ascend, and come down by the other side; and a small iron door has also been fixed there.

From hence I returned to Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem set out again on foot in company with a party, who were resolved on a journey to Hejáz. The guide was a very active man and an excellent walker, and they called him Abú Bekr Hamadání. It was the middle of Zí-l-ka'dah, 438, when I left Jerusalem, and in three days I came to a place called Az'ar, where there was a flowing stream and plenty of trees. [I then arrived at another halting-place, which they called "Wádiu-l-karí," from whence I reached Mecca in ten days. That year no caravans came from any quarter, and provisions were not procurable. I alighted at the Sakanatu-l-'attárín, opposite the Gate of the Prophet (on whom be peace!), and on Tuesday I repaired to 'Arafát, where I found all the people in great terror of the Arabs. I stayed a couple of days at Mecca, and returned by way of Syria to Jerusalem, where I arrived on the 5th of Muharram, 439. I will give no account of Mecca and the pilgrimage in this place, but reserve my description of it till my last visit there.

The Christian infidels have a church at Jerusalem, which they style "Beytu-l-makámah," and consider extremely holy. Every year a vast multitude came there from Rúm on pilgrimage, and the King of Rúm himself even comes in disguise, so that no one may recognize him. At the period when "the Ruler by command of God was lord of Egypt,"

¹ The passage inclosed in brackets is wanting in the Museum copy.

the Kaisar of Rûm happened to come there, and the Ruler getting intelligence of this, despatched one of his officers with the following instructions. "There is a person seated on the Jâmi' at Jerusalem of such and such an aspect and appearance: do you go up to him and say, that the Ruler has sent you to him to let him know that he need not suppose I am ignorant of his doings. Tell him, however, to rest perfectly happy, as I have no evil design against him." This Ruler likewise directed the church to be pillaged, desolated, and destroyed, and for a long time it lay in ruins; but subsequently the Kaisar of Rûm sent ambassadors with many choice gifts and kind attentions, to solicit peace and intercede with him; till at length he consented to its re-building, and the edifice was accordingly renovated. The church in question is a spacious place, so much so that it can hold 20,000 souls, and it is constructed in the most splendid style of coloured marble, adorned with sculpture and painting. The interior is embellished with brocade and pictures, and a vast deal of gold is used in its decorations. Portraits of Jesus, represented as sitting on an ass, are put up in several places, as well as those of the other prophets, such as Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, and his children (on all of whom be peace!), and they are anointed with the oil of sindarús. Each picture, moreover, is covered with a large plate of transparent glass of the same size as itself, so that the portrait may not be at all hidden, and this they place there to prevent the dust from settling on the painting, the glasses being daily cleaned by servants. Besides this, there are many other parts constructed with the utmost elegance, insomuch that if a detailed description of them were to be written, it would lead to a great diffuseness. In this church, too, is a chamber of two kinds, made after the fashion of Heaven and Hell, one half of it being descriptive of Paradise and its blessed inmates, the other resembling Hell and its wretched victims.¹] Numerous priests and deacons, too, are stationed in this church, who

¹ See note on preceding page.

read out the Evangelists, offer up prayers, and are engaged day and night in pious devotion.

I next resolved upon setting out from Jerusalem and embarking by sea for Egypt; from whence I could repair again to Mecca; but the wind being contrary, the voyage was found to be impracticable. I consequently proceeded by land, and, after passing Ramlah, reached a city which they called 'Askalán (Ascalon). It is an extensive town on the sea-shore, with a fine market-place and public place of worship. I noticed an old archway that was there, which they said had belonged to a mosque; it was a stone arch of gigantic proportions, insomuch that if any one wished to destroy it, he would have to expend unlimited wealth in order to effect its demolition. Journeying onwards, I came to hosts of towns and hamlets on my way, a full description of which would occupy too much time and space, and will therefore be curtailed. At length I arrived at a place called Tíbiáh, which was a seaport for ships, that used to sail from thence to Tínas.

[This translation was made from a MS. in the possession of the Nawab Ziauddin Khán of Loháru. Dr. C. Rieu kindly undertook to check and correct the translation by carefully collating the British Museum MS. Addit. 18418 of the same work.—Ed.]

ART. VIII.—*The Poetry of Mohamed Rabadan, of Arragon.*
By the Right Hon. LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY.

(Continued from Vol. V. p. 337).

ISTORIA DE NUESTRO ANNABY MUHAMAD SALAM
CONTIENE CINCO CANTOS: TRATA DE SU NACIE-
MENTO.

Dame aliento, Rey divino,
Desata mi torpe lengua,
Mi cansada voz aclara
Que el trabajo rompa y venza;
Y pues me diste tu ayuda
Para emprender tal ¹ empresa,
Grande atrevimiento tuve;²
Que si bien se considera,
Siendo materia tan alta
Mas condena mi torpeza;
Que un entendimiento rudo,
Criado en romper la tierra,
Tras el arado y las mieses,
Desnudo de artes y letras,
¿ Como puede, aunque mas vele,
Tener tan copiosa vena,
Que en un discurso tan largo,
Y en una sustancia mesma
Dexar de dar en vacio
Y dar al trabes sus velas?
Que al fin un hombre cansado
En tierra llana estropeiza:
Quanto y mas andando siempre
Por tantos lagos y breñas,
Por afrentosos desiertos,³
Caidas, duelos y afrentas,
Diluvios, fuegos, prisiones,
Traiciones, guerras, cautelas:
Que desde el primero padre,
Y aquella infernal caterva,
He andado peregrinando
Por tantas playas desiertas
Y por los oteros⁴ mas altos

Y mas encumbradas sierras;
Y siempre al hilo volviendo,
Sin interromper las hebras.
Y haber de tratar verdad,
Sin salir un punto de ella,
Siendo de si tan enxuta,
Solitaria, ruda y seca,
Amiga de andar desnuda,
Sin artificios ni arengas,
Que no puede congraciarse;
Sin ordimbre⁵ verdadera
Que se ha de faltar al verso
En los pasos que se ofrescan,
Por no torcer de la historia
Su tan derecha carrera.
Pero ya es tiempo, Señor,
Que vuestra grandeza inmensa
Acabe tantos diluvios,
Y aclarezca estas tinieblas:
Deshaciendo tantas cismas
De esta gente torpe y ciega,
Y manifieste se al mundo
La luz de nuestro ⁶ profeta,
Que tuvo en aquel cristal,
Antes de formar á Edam,
Secrestada tantos años:
Despues descendió á la tierra,
Y aunque en lugares cendrados
El visto tantos tormentos,
En termino de anegarse
Entre aquellas aguas fieras;
Despues en poder de Ybrahim
En tantos peligros puesta,

¹ Esta, P.

³ Destierros, P.

⁴ Actamos, P.

⁶ Vuestro, P.

² De nuevo agora la pido
Para su remate della, P.

⁵ Urdimbre, P.

Ya á las fieras arrojado
 Entre grillos y cadenas,
 Ya desnudo sobre el fuego
 Sobre las llamas espesas,
 Despues en el sacrificio
 A crudo puñal sujeta.
 ; Pues en los de Abdulmunef,
 Mirad en quanta estrechez,
 En poder de Jaibacanas! ¹
 Ya le matan, ya le apretan,
 Ya puesto en su amado hijo
 Amarrado en duras cuerdas,
 El cuchillo á la garganta;
 Ya muere, ya le deguellan;
 Ya en las manos el veneno
 Para que en comiendo muera.
 Ya le matan en el monte,
 Ya no hay quien librarle pueda;
 Ya pensando estar seguro
 Su propia casa le cercan,
 Y alli acabarle pretenden
 De la manera que puedan;
 Y otros trabajosos trances
 Que no hay numero ni cuenta.
 Asida á un delgado hilo
 Y á una sortija pequena,
 Y siempre de todo endemne
 Ha salido su limpieza:
 Por que su verdad divina,
 Aunque adelgaza, no quiebra.
 Y pues hasta aqui no tuvo
 Lugar do estuviere queda,
 Por que si no fué asumida ²
 No es mucho que alli no quepa;
 Aora que está en su sello,
 Que en ancho y largo la allena,
 Cortado al modelo suyo
 Bien es que sosego tenga.
 Ya no hay pasar adelante,
 Aqui es donde reverbera,
 Volviendo al cielo sus ojos
 Con mas claror y mas fuerza.

Quedó Emina preñada,
 Viuda, hermosa, moza y tierna,
 Como la luna cumplida
 En su noche catorcena.

Ya tocaba el mes noveno,
 Y aun los dias de su espera,
 Y señal ³ de su preñado
 Ninguno la conociera.
 Llegó la esperada noche
 Del Lunes, clara y serena,
 El doceno de la luna
De rabiu'laquel se cuenta.
 Estando Emina sola,
 Por que acertó á estar fuera
 Abdulmutalib de casa,
 Que aquella noche por fuerza
 En el Alcaba velaba,
 Cumpliendo cierta promesa;
 Dixo Emina: "yo estando
 Sola en mi casa, sin velas,
 Oy una voz alta y clara,
 Diciendo." "Dichosa Emina,
 Aparejate á parir,
 Que ya se ha dado licencia
 Que salga el especialado.
 Y yo como vi estas nuevas,
 Causaronme alteracion,
 Y al punto se me presienta
 Un brevaje el qual bebi,
 Y mi corazon sosiega
 De todo temor y enojo,
 Que nada me daba pena;
 Y vi mi casa mas clara
 Que si el sol entrara en ella.
 Y mirando hacia una parte,
 Vi venir á mi presencia
 Tres mugeres relumbrantes,
 Claras, mas claras que estrellas,
 Hermosamente arreadas,
 Sobre sus manos derechas
 Preciosos aguamaniles,
 Con almizcadas especias
 En tazas de blanca plata.
 No hay quien semejarlas pueda:
 Toda mi casa clareaban ⁴
 Sus admirables presencias.
 Y quando ansi las vide,
 Imaginé por qué puerta
 Habian podido entrar,
 No estando la mia abierta.
 Dixeronme que bebiese

¹ Saybacanas, P.³ Senas, P.² Sumida.⁴ Geupaban, P.

De aquel agua, y hallé en ella
 Dulzor mas que dulce miel,
 No hay sabor que le paresca ;
 Y despues que hube bebido,
 Saludóme la primera,
 Diciendome : “habe albricias,
 Y buena ventura tengas
 Con el mas alto nacido
 Queestuvo¹ en cielos ni en tierras,
 Sello de los annabies,
 Caudillo de los Profetas.”
 Y tirandose á una parte,
 Luego la otra se allega
 Diciendo : “grande es tu honrra
 Y tu ventura tan buena,
 Pues sobre todas las gentes
 Te especialó su nobleza
 Y has merecido ser vaso
 De la mas limpia limpieza.
 Y en acabando su dicho,
 Se me allegó la tercera
 Diciendo : “nadi te iguala,
 Pues en tu vientre se encierra
 El amigo del Piadoso,
 Señor de la luz perfecta,
Amahador de las gentes
 El dia de las afrentas,
 Muhamad el escogido,
 Fin de todas las promesas.
 Entre tanto que me hablaban
 Estas alcherias² bellas,
 Vide de almalaques sin cuento
 Toda mi casa cubierta,
 Tendidas sus lindas alas
 Blancas, verdes y bermejias,
 Aves de lindas figuras,
 De colores tan diversas ;
 Los pies verdes, blancas alas,
 Ojos claros, corvas cejas ;
 Todos sus picos bermejos,
 Y con sus arpadas lenguas
 Loaban y *tasbihaban*
 Ad Alláh de mil maneras.
 Vi mas que se me allegaban
 Las mas encumbradas sierras,
 Los mas enpinados montes,
 Y mas ascondidas cuevas ;

Y todo puesto á la igual
 Quanto el mundo en si rodea,
 Y los rios escondidos,
 Quanto las mares encierran,
 Quanto las tierras producen
 De flores, plantas y yerbas,
 Hombres, aves y animales,
 Y todas las bestias fieras,
 Todo lo vi por mis ojos
 En solo mover las³ cejas ;
 Y todos en alabanzas
 Con amor y reverencia
 Me demandaron albricias
 Alegres y placenteras.
 Vi tres hermosos pendones
 Que en el aire se menean,
 En el oriente y poniente,
 Y el tercero y de mas cuenta
 Sobre la casa ensalzada
 Al alto zimborio llega.
 Vide mas en esta noche
 Una esquadra forastera
 De hombres fieros, denegridos,
 Ximios, sus caras muy feas,
 Que en su sangre revolcaban
 Como ponzoñosas bestias,
 Dando grandes apellidos
 Como el que la muerte espera.
 Yo codiciando saber
 Qué fantasmas eran estas,
 Oy una voz que decia :
 “Esto que saber deseas,
 Son de tu hijo enemigos,
 Los que de su luz se arriedran :
 Estos son los adevinos
 De la maldita linéa,
 Los que siempre abominaron
 El trance que ahora esperan ;
 Y como tienen noticia
 De su ruina tan cierta,
 Y que tu escogido hijo
 Tiene de acabar sus setas,
 Están como aqui los miras
 Que de corage revientan.
 Vi huir los axaitanes,
 Afeminadas sus fuerzas,
 Y que los aprisionaban

¹ Hubo, P.² الجارية douzellas.³ Mis, P.

En las mares mas secretas.
 Vide mas en esta noche
 Las puertas del cielo abiertas,
 Y almalaques en los aires
 De sin numero ni cuenta ;
 Y quando me apretó el parto,
 Miré y vi mi casa llena
 De almalaques tasbihando,
 Como suelen las abejas,
 En su solícito oficio
 El subsurar de sus lenguas.
 Llegóme el tiempo asignado,
 La ora dichosa y buena ;
 Quando yo mas descuidada
 Y menos me daba pena,
 Quando yo estaba mirando
 Cosa de tanta grandeza,
 Abajé al suelo mis ojos
 Y vi á mi hijo en la tierra
 Azaxdado¹ á su Señor,
 Y el indice de su diestra
 Aseñando á la Unidad
 De la soberana alteza :²
 De cara la santa Alcaba,
 Cuya alquibla nos enseña,
 Y luego una blanca nube
 Descendió con gran presteza,
 Y lo llevé de mi vista,³
 Que me causó gran tristeza ;
 Y tras esto una voz oia
 De la soberana alteza,
 En tono blando y sabroso
 Diciendo de esta manera :
 "Rodead á mi escogido
 Todo quanto el sol clarea,
 De la una y otra parte
 Los llanos, montes y sierras,⁴
 Las mares y sus honduras :
 Que lo conozcan y vean
 Las tierras y sus semillas,
 Por que se albricien entre ellos
 Qué ha de ser el que lave
 El que alimpie y abellezca
 Las tierras de corrupciones,
 De sus hezes y rudezas."

Y no tardó en su jornada⁵
 Quanto las cejas se muevan :
 Y quando me lo volvieron
 Embuelto con sotileza
 En paños de blanca lana
 Mas que nieve, y mas clarea ;
 Otro paño sobre aquellos
 De lucida y blanca seda,
 Con tres llaves bien cerradas
 De aljofar y blancas perlas,
 Y una voz que le decia
 "Ya las llaves se te entregan
 Del señorío de Maca,
 De la ayuda y la defensa,
 Y las de la alta annabua
 Con quanto manda y deveda."
 Y luego vino otra nube,
 Mas blanca que la primera,
 Y entre ellas voces zumbando
 De tasbihes y ley lehas ;⁶
 Y grande caballeria,
 Grande estruendo en ella suena
 De gente noble y preciada,
 Cortesana y muy discreta ;
 Y tomaron á mi hijo
 Y dijo la voz inmensa :
 "Enseñalde⁷ á mi escogido
 Todas las naturalezas
 De los justos annabies ;
 Por que todos le obedezcan,
 Y por que mas le conozcan,
 Dalde la figura de Edam
 Y la condicion de Ybráhim,
 De Noh la gran fortaleza :
 Dalde del justo Ismael
 La suavidad de lengua,
 Las albricias de Yácub
 Y de Ayub la gran sufrenia ;⁸
 De Yuçuf la hermosura,
 Su castidad y firmeza :
 Dalde la voz de David,
 Del justo Muse las fuerzas ;
 De Sulaimen el reismo,
 De Siz la gran conocencia ;
 El sosiego de Alhadir,

¹ Postrado.² Esencia, P.³ Lo arrebatado de mi vista, P.⁴ Guertas, P.⁵ Tornada, P.⁶ اللى⁷ Enseñadle, P.⁸ Suficiencia, P.

De Yshák la gran prudencia;
 De Sálíh el ser ladino,
 Y de Yunez la obidencia;
 De Daniel el amorio,
 De Yuhai ¹ la entremetencia;
 La pureza de Yahíye,
 De Íse su gran limpieza,
 Y todas las propiedades
 Que mas escogidas tengan
 Los profetas y annabíes
 Qué! es el dechado de ellas.
 Y mando que las naciones,
 Todo genero y especies,
 Condiciones y lenguaje,
 Lo reciban y obedescan.”
 Y quando me lo truxeron ²
 Con una rica livrea,
 En paños de seda verde,
 Y yo estando muy atenta,
 Mirando estas maravillas,
 Admirada y muy contenta,
 Vi venir tres almalaques
 Con gran sosiego y prudencia,
 De cuyas frentes salian
 Mas que el sol lucientes hebras.
 Un aguamanil trahía
 El uno, en muy rica pieza,
 Lleno de almizcadas aguas;
 El otro una verde perla,
 Quadrada por todas partes,
 Y en cada quadra una piedra:
 Preciosa, blanca, muy rica,
 Cercada de muchas venas.
 Estaba en ella cifrada
 El addunia toda entera,
 Sus mares, tierras y rios,
 Fuentes, montes y riberas,
 Sin que faltase una cosa ³
 Que en ella venir debiera.
 El tercero era Rediguer,⁴
 Segun Abilhasan cuenta,
 Con un cendal en sus manos
 De blanca y bruñida seda,
 De donde un sello pendia,
 Que la vista turba y leda;
 Y así como se allegaron,
 El de la preciosa perla

Se la presentó delante,
 Diciendo: “escoge do quieras
 ; O Muhamad! residir;
 Mira, do mas te acontenta;
 Presente tienes el mundo,
 Sin que le falte una hebra,
 Tiende la mano y señala.”
 Y vi que en el punto aceña,
 Y en medio del rico esmalte
 Su mano derecha asienta.
 Y dixo el que la tenía:
 “Escogido has tu vivienda
 En la ensantecida Maca,
 Por alquibla de tu regla.”
 Luego el del aguamanil,
 Con muy grande sutileza,
 Tomó á mi hijo en sus brazos,
 Desnudas sus carnes bellas,
 Y con el agua olorosa
 Lo *taharó* siete vueltas.
 Y aquel que el sello tenia,
 En sus espaldas lo sella
 Solo una vez, y empañólo
 En sus pañales de seda,
 Y cubriólo con sus alas
 Y hácia sus pechos lo allega,
 Besandolo entre sus ojos
 Con mil regaladas señas,
 Diciendo tales palabras,
 Tan dulces y de amor llenas:
 “Hábe albricias! ó Muhamad!
 Quen ti se afirma y encierra
 Todo el saber de los sabios
 Todo el peso de la ciencia;
 El prez de los annabíes,
 De los caudillos las fuerzas,
 Y quantos oiran tu nombre
 Temerán tu fortaleza.”
 “Con esto se despidieron,
 Y dixe; O! que estuviera
 Presente aqui Abdulmutálib,
 Que lo que yo veo viera”!

Dice Alhasan que á la ora
 Que acabó de salir fuera
 Del vientre, vió Almutálib,
 Como en el Alcaba velan

¹ Yuxae, P. Josué.

³ Bizna, P.

² Tornaron, P.

⁴ Redguem, P.

Esta noche él y sus hijos ;
 Vieron la santa cubierta
 Del Alcaba que azaxdaba,
 Haciendo gran reverencia
 A todas las quatro quadras,
 Hasta llegar á la tierra
 Diciendo : " agora soy limpia
 De todas las insolencias,
 Que siempre me han ocupado
 Pecados é inobediencias ;
 Ya se ha cumplido la rahma ¹
 Que estaba sobre mis cuestras,
 Pues ha nacido Muhamad,
 Y se ha cumplido su ausencia."
 Quando vido Abdulmutálib
 Estas admirables señas, ²
 Lo que la casa hacia,
 Sus paredes y cubiertas,
 Y los ydolos romperse
 Todos en menudas piezas ;
 Azaxdóse en aquel punto,
 Viendo señales tan ciertas ;
 Y estaba entre si confuso,
 No sabe si duerme ó vela,
 Alimpiabase los ojos,
 Pensando que acaso sueña.
 Dijo : " yo, como espantado,
 Salime á mirar las vegas,
 Y vi las torres de *Azaf* ³
 Que en el aire se menean,
 Y las torres de *Almarguat*,
 Y todos que me vozean :
 ¡ O caudillo de Curax !
 ¿ De que te espantas y alteras,
 Que todo este enxalzamiento
 Se hace por la presencia
 De tu nieto el deseado ?
 Y luego con grande prisa
 Abdulmutálib camina
 A donde estaba su nuera,
 Y vió que estaba su casa
 Llena de tantas lumbreras,
 Todo el tejado cubierto
 De aves blancas y bermejas,
 Y de otros varios colores
 Quel nacimiento celebran.
 Pues, en entrando en la casa

Llegó á visitar á Emina,
 Hallóla tan sin pasion,
 Tan disimulada y leda,
 Que en su rostro se juzgaba
 Como si nunca pariera,
 Y viendola de tal suerte
 Dixole : " que haces ? y ella
 Le respondió " soy parida
 De un hijo de grandes señas."
 Pues, á donde está mi nieto ?
 Muestramelo que lo vea.
 Dixo Emina : " no puedo,
 No hay lugar que tú lo veas,
 Por que me ha sido mandado
 Y lo he de cumplir por fuerza."
 Enojóse Abdulmutálib,
 Por que su nieto le niega,
 Y tirando de su espada,
 Colerico y sin paciencia,
 Diciendo : " ¿ darmelo tienes
 O' me has de dar la cabeza."
 Como le vió tan ayraudo,
 Luego la parte le muestra
 A donde estaba su hijo.
 " Pues asi quieres que sea,
 Dixo Emina, " elo alli
 En esa casa frontera,
 Emvuelto en un paño blanco,
 Allá te aben como puedas."
 Fué Abdulmutálib y al tiempo
 Que quiso entrar por la puerta,
 Topó con un hombre armado,
 Desemejado en grandeza,
 Con una espada desnuda
 Que tremolaron sus venas,
 Sus lados y sus junturas,
 Y con voz horrible y fiera
 Le dijo : " no pues ⁴ entrar,
 Que no podrás, aunque quieras,
 Visitar á tu buen nieto :
 Vuelve atras, y ten paciencia,"
 " Pues ; que razon hay en esto
 Para que me lo defiendas ?
 Siendo yo su aguelo y padre,
 Que otro padre no le queda.
 ¿ Yo lo tengo de criar,
 Que á mi me quedó encomienda,

¹ El arrahma, P. gracia.

² Le dixo, P.

³ Nuevas, P.

⁴ Dó quies, P.

⁵ Açafe, P.

Y no lo tengo de ver?
 Dime ¿ por que me lo vedas ?”
 Dixo, “ por que estos tres dias
 Manda el Señor que deciendan
 Todos quantos almalaques
 Ha criado su nobleza
 En las celestiales Cortes,
 Y lleguen con obidencia
 A visitar á Muhamad,
 Y quando cumplidas sean
 Las visitas de los cielos
 Que al dicho termino llegan,
 Lo verán los de este suelo,
 Sin que nadi los detenga.”
 Asi templo Abdulmutálib
 Aquella colera ciega,
 Y pasados los tres dias
 De las visitas angelicas,
 Cesaron los almalaques,
 Y comenzaron las tierras
 Con sus cristalinas aguas,
 Haciendo sus reverencias;
 Los montes se le humillaban,
 Y todas las arboledas,
 Y en altas voces decian :
 “ Bienaventurada sea
 La muger que te criare,
 Y tal titulo meresca.”
 Usaban en aquel tiempo
 Las mugeres de alta cuenta
 El criar sus propios hijos
 Tener a grande baxeza,
 Y asi buscaban nodrizas
 En la ciudad y ¹ defuera,
 Y tambien estos nodrientes
 Buscaban las propias ² dueñas.

Pues sobre este buen ³ nacido
 Hubo una grande contienda,
 Por quien lo habia de criar
 Y darle leche primera;
 Por que las nubes pretenden
 Que abe ⁴ mas derecho en ellas
 Para criar á Muhamad
 Que quantos esto pretendan,
 Pareciendoles muy justo
 En las razones que allegan,
 Decian : “ Nos lo criaremos,

Si el Señor nos da licencia,
 Por que andamos en los aires
 Donde con mayor limpieza
 Lo tendremos, qual merece,
 Sin que ninguno ⁵ le empeça,
 Y nadi podrá llegarse
 A darle enojo, ni pena.
 Nos conocemos las frutas
 Dulces, y comerá dellas,
 Y le trairemos el agua
 De las mas preciosas venas,
 De las mares del *alarxo*
 Para que de aquellas beba.”
 Decian los almalaques:
 “ Nosotros somos mas cerca
 Para criar á Muhamad,
 Por que la suma grandeza
 Nos crió para guardalle
 Del daño que hacer le quieran.”
 Las aves lo pretendian,
 Diciendo, “ si nos lo dejan
 Nosotros lo criaremos
 Con mucho cuidado y veras,
 Que le diremos cantares
 Con nuestras arpadas lenguas,
 Y encima de nuestras alas
 Lo llevaremos do quiera,
 Por los jardines mas frescos
 Y mas deleitosas huertas.

Estando en este debate,
 Que cada qual de estos piensa
 Tener derecho en criarle,
 Segun que lo manifiestan,
 Una voz los atajaba
 Que desde los cielos suena,
 Diciendo : “ nadi se acuite,
 Que ya el Señor adereza
 Al ama que ha de criarlo,
 Hija de los hijos de Edam.
 Halima tiene por nombre,
 Que ha dias que su estrella
 Le concedió tanta honrra,
 Tanto provecho y riqueza.”
 En un lugar junto á Maca,
 A poco mas de dos leguas,
 Habitaba esta Halima,
 Blanca, limpia y muy honesta :

¹ O', P.² Pobres, P.³ Bien, P.⁴ Hay ó habia.⁵ Suciedad, P.

A esta le fué entregado
 Muhamad, que es cosa cierta
 Que quando el Señor lo hizo,
 Lo merecieron sus prendas ;
 Y tomandolo en sus brazos
 Al pecho diestro lo allega,
 El qual tomó muy de grado.
 Mas quando el otro le prueba,
 Jamas lo quiso tomar,
 Por mas que le hicieron fuerza.
 Dijo Alambéz : “ quizo Alláh
 Que fuese enseñanza nuestra,
 Y nos mostrase el derecho
 De su regla verdadera,
 Que con el proximo usemos
 De aquella manera mesma,
 Que deseamos que haga
 En lo que a nos pertenezca ;
 Y nadi la mano alargue,
 Ni la codicia se mueva
 A mas del derecho suyo,
 Sin pretender cosa agena.”
 Tenia Halima un hijo,
 De quien su sustento era
 El siniestro manantio,
 Y ansi el annabi lo deja,
 Por no quitarle á su hermano
 La leche que lo sustenta.
 Ni la gustó, ni la quiso
 Mas de la parte derecha.
 ¡ O' que doctrina tan justa
 Si nos valiesemos de ella !
 Que nunca lo ageno es nuestro,
 Por ningún cabo que venga.
 Quando fué el seteno dia
 De su dichosa naciencia,
 Hizo el buen Abdulmutálib
 Gran combite y grande fiesta
 A todos quantos en Maca
 Quisieron ser á su mesa,
 En lo qual comieron carnes,
 Frutas de muchas maneras.¹
 Duró este gran combite
 En esta forma y manera
 Siete dias sin distancia,
 Que á mas de los de la tierra,
 Peregrinos y pasantes

Hubo huespedes sin cuenta.
 Hasta las aves gustaron
 Estas fadas y estas fiestas,²
 Que como á todos les toca,
 Asi todos lo celebran.
 Ansi lo crió y lo tuvo
 En Bani Saad do era
 El lugar de esta Halima,
 Dandole muy buena adreza,
 Hasta que ya se estendia,³
 Y por la casa y por fuera
 Andaba, aunque no jugaba,
 Ni aun á los juegos se allega.
 Dixole un dia a su ama,
 Con grande honor y verguenza :
 ¡ O' madre ! dime, si quieres,
 ¡ A donde estan que no suenan
 Tus hijos, y mis hermanos,
 Que solamente á la cena
 Los veo que están en casa ?
 Dime por donde navegan ?
 “ Ya habib,⁴ dijo Halima,
 Van á guardar las ovejas,
 Y estan allá todo el dia.”
 Dijo “ pues dame licencia
 Para que vaya con ellos,
 Y en el monte me entretenga ”
 Dixo Halima “ ymbiélo,
 Por complacer su querella;
 Alcoholéle su cuerpo,
 Y echéle una lynchabera
 A su cuello de Aliaman,
 Y dile provision buena,
 Y un cayado muy polido,
 Y pusélo en encomienda
 De mis hijos, y ansi fueron
 Muchos dias, de manera
 Que á la mañana salian
 Y á la tarde daban vuelta ;
 Hasta que un dia yo, estando
 Descuidada de tal nueva,
 Vi venir mi hijo Damar
 Corriendo á muy grande priesa
 En sudor y polvo envuelto,
 Llorando con grande priesa,⁵
 Gritando á voces, “ ó madre !
 Ven presto, no te detengas,

¹ Y otras viandas muy buenas
 Guisadas de todas suertes, P.

² Y las fieras, P.
⁴ Querido.

³ Entendia, P.
⁵ Con rabia inmensa, P

A socorrer á mi hermano
 Muhamad, que si lo vieras,
 Como nosotros lo vimos,
 Alli á donde agora queda,
 Abiertos todos sus pechos,
 Y su corazon defuera;
 Tres hombres lo arrebataron,
 Muy disformes en grandeza,
 Donde estabamos jugando
 Y á la cumbre de la sierra
 Lo subieron, donde han hecho
 Una tan grande crueza.
 Ven aprisa que por presto
 Que vamos, es cosa cierta
 Que ya lo hallaremos muerto,
 Segun he visto las señas."
 Ansi fué Halima ansiosa,
 Y su marido con ella,
 Corriendo, los ojos turbados,
 Sin ver do los pies asientan,
 Y en llegando sobre el monte
 A do su hijo los lleva,
 Vieron sentado á Muhamad,
 Con cara alegre y serena,
 Sus ojos mirando al cielo,
 Que sus cejas no menean;
 Y ansi como á él llegaron,
 Le abrazan, besan y tientan
 La herida, preguntando
 Qué siente ó que le dá pena.
 Dixo Muhamad; "o madre!
 Sosiega, no te entristezcas,
 Que yo te diré la ystoria,
 Que gustaras de saberla."

"Has de saber que yo, estando
 Jugando con mis hermanos,
 Con grandisimo contento,
 Apacentando el ganado,
 Quando vinieron á mi
 Tres hombres apresurados
 Lindos, hermosos y bellos,
 Grandes y muy bien tallados,
 Blancas y olorosas ropas
 Con que venian arreados,
 Que jamas mis ojos vieron
 Semblantes tan acendrados.
 El uno con gran sosiego
 Traia en su diestra mano
 Un aguamanil de plata,

El otro un bacin preciado
 De perla verde y muy rica,
 Y en vuelo me arrebataron
 Hasta subir-me do estoy,
 Aqui en la tierra me echaron,
 Reposado y blandamente,
 Sin hacerme ningun daño.
 Me desnudaron y abrieron
 Todo el pecho de alto abajo,
 Por dó sacaron mi vientre,
 Sin quedar nada encerrado.
 Y yo que me los miraba,
 Sin ningun temor ni espanto,
 Vi que mi vientre lavaban
 Con el agua que bajaron,
 Y taharado y muy limpio
 A su lugar lo tornaron.
 Todo esto hizo el primero;
 Los otros quedos mirando,
 Y luego llegó el segundo
 Dixo: "pues has acabado
 Riedrate, dejame hacer,
 Lo que el Señor me ha mandado,
 Y acercandose á mi pecho
 Alargó y puso su mano,
 Y sacó mi corazon,
 De donde estaba sentado,
 Y partiendolo por medio,
 Vi que lo estaba limpiando,
 Y que sacó del tres gotas
 Negras, de color tiznado,
 Emvueltas en sangre negra;
 Y en habiendolas quitado
 "Estas son, dice,ye amigo!
 La parte que te ha tocado
 Departe del axaitan,
 Raiz del primer rescalo."
 Y volviendolo á juntar,
 Lo envolvió en un velo blanco,
 Y lo volvió a su lugar
 De donde lo hubo sacado.
 A esto volvió el primero
 Con un sello, y me ha sellado
 Sobre mis miembros y venas,
 Y despues que hubo acabado
 Vino el tercero y les dijo:
 "Pues habeis ya negociado
 Vosotros, dejadme hacer
 Aquello que esta á mi cargo,"
 Y amahando la herida

Por el uno y otro lado,
 La cerró muy sutilmente,
 Sin quedar señal ni rastro ;
 Y despues dijo á los otros :
 " Pesemoslo," y me pesaron
 Con diez de los de mi aluma ¹
 Y fué su peso liviano,
 Por que pesé yo mas que ellos,
 Y en la balanza asentaron
 Cien personas de los mios,
 Y nunca mi pezo alzaron.
 Despues llegaron a mil,
 Y siempre quedaron faltos ;
 Dixo el que me pesó :
 " No lo peseis mas, dexaldo
 Que aunque echeis en la balanza
 De su peso todos quantos
 De su aluma descandieren,
 Y aun de los demas estados,

No ygualaran a su peso."
 Y asiendome de la mano,
 Me probaron ad andar,
 Dexandome sano y salvo ;
 Y todos tres acudieron
 Con grande amor y regalo,
 Y besanme entre mis ojos,
 Y mi persona amaharon.
 Despidieronse de mi,
 Y vi que al cielo volaron,
 Yo los vide entrar por él
 Desde aqui do estoy sentado,
 Y esto ha sido, amada madre,
 Lo que sobre mi ha pasado."
 De alli lo llevó Halima,
 Y abrazandolo y besandolo.
 Se lo traen á su casa ²
 Contentos y descansados.

CANTO SEGUNDO DE LA DECLARACION DEL HONRRADO ALCORAN Y LAS PROPIEDADES DE NUESTRO ANNABI MUHAMAD SALAM.

Despues que su inocencia
 Y al principio de sus años
 Quedó nuestro annabi libre
 De los lazos del pecado
 Siendo ³ mas claro y mas limpio
 Que el sol quando está mas claro
 Que asi combino que fuese
 Para lo que fue enviado:
 Y luego su ama Halima
 Puso por obra llevarlo
 Á su madre y á su aguelo
 Por que se lo aconsejaron
 Viendo quen Bany saad
 Ya le andaban procurando
 La muerte aquellos traidores
 Y emvejecidos contrarios.
 Ansi lo llevó y le dieron
 Dones de precio muy alto,
 Y mas de que se aumentaron
 Sus bienes casa y familia,
 Multiplicó sus ganados
 Producian sus exidos
 Y florecian sus campos.

Al fin el bien de este mundo
 Todo lo tuvo á su mano,
 Y el del otro pues que tuvo
 Tal hijo por advogado.
 Murió Emina su madre
 Siendo de edad de seis años,
 Y lo recojio su aguelo
 Hasta los ocho contados
 Que se pasó de este mundo,
 Dejandolo encomendado
 Á su buen hijó Abitalib,
 De sus hijos mas honrrado.
 Y dixole amado hijo,
 Mira que queda á tu cargo
 Encomendado Muhamad,
 Hijo de tu propio hermano
 Que Alláh le quitó su padre
 Para que nos lo seamos,
 Y mucho mas que hijo nuestro
 Debemos acariciarlo
 Recibelo con amor
 Con paz honrra y amaho
 Que no será mas la suya ⁴

¹ Secta.³ Quedando, P.² Se lo traxo hacia su casa.⁴ Tuya, P.

De lo que querras honrrarlo;
 Tratalo con reverencia
 Con grande honor y recato
 Y sobre todos tus hijos
 Será siempre adelantado.
 Mira que quando te llame
 Respondas á su llamado
 No como su edad lo pide
 Sino como hombre anciano;
 No te asientes á la mesa
 A solas ni acompañado
 Sin que primero Muhamad
 En ella fuese sentado ;
 Ni gustes de las viandas
 De ningun modo guisadas
 Sin que primero las guste
 Y en ellas ponga la mano.
 Y si lo haras ansi
 Permanecerán tus algos
 Y nunca verás tu arrizque
 Por ningun cabo menguado.
 O' hijo si acaso vives
 Hasta el tiempo deseado
 Que decienda su annabua
 Y el con ella sea embiado,
 Verás quantas maravillas
 Quantas gracias y milagros
 Que todos sus regidores¹
 Serán por el alumbrados.
 Servirle-has de compañero
 Si acaso tu feliz hado

Te concede que lo veas
 Su santa ley enseñando ;
 Ayudale en tus² razones
 Y obedece su mandado
 Y defiende sus preceptos
 Con las armas en la mano.”
 Asi se encargo Abitalib
 De cumplir lo encomendado
 Y aun sobrepuso su oferta
 Las obras de sus regalos.

³ (Y quando ya el annabi
 Llego á los veynte cinco años,
 Que ya la barba adornaba
 Aquel semblante acendrado,
 Mancebo de lindo talle
 Bien hecho y proporcionado,
 No muy grande de estatura,
 Pero de estado a mediado,
 Color natural perfecto
 De dos extremos cortado ;
 El cabello limpio onesto
 Mas moreno que castaño,
 Los ojos tiernos y alegres
 Cuya vista era descanso :
 Y en todo fue de los hombres
 Fino y natural dechado.
 Y sintiendose Abitalib
 Ya viexo y algo cansado
 Le llamó un dia y le dixó
 Lo que dira el nuevo canto.

CANTO TERCERO.

“Sobrino mi mas amado
 Que jamas nadi lo ha sido
 De su padre y respectado,
 Onrrado y obedecido,
 Ya sabes que por la muerte
 De tu aguelo y padre mio
 Quedaste a mi encomendado,
 Y en extremo encarecido
 E cumplido su alguacia
 Quanto posible me ha sido

Y te he criado en mi casa
 Con mis hijos y tus primos.
 Yo soy viexo como ves
 Algo cansado y rendido,
 Que la carga de los años
 Pide descargo y refugio,
 Y antes que descargue y cumpla
 Con su deudo prometido
 Querria de mi acomanda
 Dar lo entero y muy cumplido.

¹ Seguidores, P.² Sus, P.³ Estas líneas estan sacadas del MS. de Paris y han sido sustituidas a otras ocho del MS. de Londres que son como siguen.

Y quando ya tuvo edad
 Puso por obra casarlo
 Con Hadicha viuda hermosa,
 Rica noble y de alto estado,

De su propia genealogia,
 De linaje especializado ;
 A la qual sirvió primero
 Algun tiempo de criado.

Deseo verte casado
 Como te veo nodrido
 Para que mi alma goce
 De terrenal parayso.
 Y tiene me acobardado
 El no poder conseguirlo
 Segun tu merecimiento,
 Por faltar me fuerza y brio.
 Han se menguado mis algos,
 Que como son del rocío
 De la tierra se marchitan
 Con el calor de su estío.
 "Tengo pensado una traça
 De muy grande beneficio
 Y por no saber tu gusto
 Temo y dexo de decirlo."
 Dixo Mohamad: "no temas
 Que me afrentas con tu dicho,
 Por que mi gusto se mide
 Con el nivel de tus hijos."
 Dixo: "pues con tu licencia
 Dire mi traça y designio,
 Quedando el parecer tuyo
 Siempre al mio preferido.
 Ya conoces de Adicha
 El caudal tan grande y rico,
 Su facultad y potencia
 De los algos adquisitos;
 Es muy principal señora
 De nuestro linage y tribu
 Hija del buen Huguaylad¹
 Deudo nuestro y muy amigo;
 Tiene mozos mercaderes
 Y carece del su ministro
 Que le gobierne su hacienda,
 Por lo qual me ha parecido
 Si te placiese Mohamad,
 Ocupar tal exercicio,
 En poco tiempo podrias
 Con lo que te he departido
 Casar te segun tu estado,
 Si vido dello Allah servido."
 "Placeme, dixo Mohamad,
 Ordenalo a tu albedrio,
 Dispone de mi persona."
 Y asi por no ser prolijo
 Digo que surtio en efecto

Y fue en tal gracia admitido
 Que luego le dio aquel cargo
 Que en su casa habia tenido
 Mayçara² su gran factor.
 Y en aquel officio mismo
 En conformidad andaban
 Estos onrrados ministros.
 Dixo a Mayçara, Addicha;
 "Mohamad es deudo mio
 Y como a tal le respecta,
 Le obedece y sea tenido,
 No dispongas cosa alguna
 De mi hacienda casa y sitios
 Sin su consejo y aplaço
 Como de ti lo confio."
 Asi Mayçara contento
 Acepto lo sobredicho
 Que ya el amor de Mohamad
 Hiço en él asiento y nido.
 Fueron los dos un viage,
 Y andando por su camino
 Hacia las tierras de Haxem
 O á Damasco fertil sitio,
 Hubieron de hacer su via
 Por una hermita o solicio
 Donde servia a su Dios
 Un rabidante algaribo,
 Que Yuheyar se llamaba
 Hombre saneto y sabio antiguo,
 Esprimentado en la sciencia,
 Discreto y muy prebenido.
 El qual de las profecias
 Tenia bastante juicio,
 De los hechos de Mohamad,
 De su gracia y sanetos ritos.
 Y estando en su açumua³
 En su servicio contino,
 Vio las requas que venian,
 Y mirando atento vio
 Una nube y blanca seña
 Que por misterio divino
 Les venia haciendo seña
 Y darles favor y abrigo.
 Dixo: sin duda alli viene
 El que en la ley prometido
 Está de tantos profectas
 Criado antes de abenicio.

¹ Khuweyldi.² ميسرة³ الصومعة claustro.

Esta señal asigura
 Aquello que está ante dicho,
 Que solo sobre el vendria
 Este estandarte bendito.
 Pues como llego la requa,
 Baxo depresto al camino
 Y con muy grandes cariñas
 Les rogo fuesen servidos
 De recibir su ospedage
 Por que tenia prevenido
 La comida y adreçada,
 Lo qual le fue concedido.
 Dando de mano a las requas
 Fueron, y el buen guesped hiço
 A un criado que angostase
 La puerta con tal aviso
 Que no pudiesen entrar
 Dos juntos, sino sencillos.
 Y el se puso en su açumua.
 Entraron como está dicho
 Todos, y vio que la nube
 Estaba alla en el egido,
 Donde Mohamad quedaba
 Con la requa, que no quiso
 Yr a conbites jamas
 Por no ser dellos amigo.
 Mando Yuheyar llamarle
 Y el en alerta metido
 Vio que marchando Mohamad,
 Marcho la nube consigo.
 Certeficose a su gusto
 Y descendio á recibirlo,
 Virtiendo lagrimas vivas
 De contento enternecido;
 Asindole de la mano,
 Con habla publica dixo:
 "Hago omenaxe y confieso
 Haxahedo¹ afirmo y digo
 Que no hay señor sino Allah,
 Unico solo infinito,
 Y que tu eres su annabi,
 Su mensagero escogido,
 Su profecta sancto y bueno,
 Su siervo y su mas amigo
 Asi como lo prefiere
 En la tahorat² claro y limpio

Por la boca de Moysen,
 Y afirmado y referido
 Por la del sancto almacido
 Y su evangelio sanctisimo.
 Y mirando a la compaña,
 Les dixo: "decid amigos,
 Qual de vosotros es deudo
 Deste mancebo:" y fue dicho
 Que Mayçara, y el entonces
 Le dixo, "dexa conmigo
 Este joven, no le lleves
 Donde estan sus enemigos
 Que le mataran sin duda.
 O vuélvelo do ha salido."
 Y dixo, "no puedo hacerlo,
 Que los dos somos ministros
 De Addicha mi señora,
 Y llevo mandado y dicho
 Que de sus algos disponga
 A su consejo y juycio."
 Dixo, "pues si eso es ansi
 Departe de Dios te digo
 Que le acompañes y guardes
 En el poblado y camino,
 Acostar-le has a tu lado,
 Duermase y coma contigo
 No le dexes de tu vista.
 Y tendras por advertido
 Que ha de ser aun este joven
 Profecta y sancto caudillo,
 Amado de su Señor
 Sobre quantos han venido.
 Con el Alchoram perfecto,
 Sello de lo descendido,
 Con el qual seran domados
 Y a su obediencia traydo
 Gente, angeles y alchines.³
 Sin ser de nadi ofendidor,
 Hara temblar las comarcas
 De todos sus enemigos,
 Y do llegara su nombre
 Sera guardado y tenido.
 Y le casara el Señor
 Segun que lo tiene escripto
 Con la muger mas honrada
 Que tiene el umano siglo,

¹ اَشْهَد atestiguo.

³ جنّ spiritus.

² تَوْرَاة, la ley de Moyses.

De su propia casa y sangre
Noble y de estado muy rico.”
Dixole Mayçara entonces :
“ No hay en todos los nacidos
Muger mas honrada y noble
Con todos los requisitos
Que mi señora Addicha,
A quien al presente sirvo,
Esta es de su propia casta,
De su linage escogido,
Riquisima y facultada,
Hermosa de talle y brio.
De virtudes es dechado
Todo y mucho mas que digo ;
Mas buena sera su suerte
Si le toma por marido.”
Dixo el honrado hermitaño :
“ Sobre quantas han nacido.”
Con esto se despidieron,
Y apercibio-le y pervino
Que guardase aquel secreto
Hasta su tiempo debido.
Llegaron pues en Haxem
Siendo el tiempo muy propicio
Librando sus mercancías
Cargando de nuevos lios.
Dixo Mayçara a Mohamad :
“ Yo he andado en este officio
En casa de mi señora
Bien quarenta años cumplidos,
Y jamas ningun viaje
Lo que en este tengo visto,
De aumento de gracia y bien :
Que parece es increydo
Y toda nuestra ganancia
Todo este arrisque adquirido
Es de tu parte o Mohamad,
A ti debo atribuyrlo,
A ti despues del Señor
Se debe la palma amigo,
Y querria no cayese
Tanta merced en vacio,
Sino que te fuese grato
Pues lo tienes merecido,
Toma un camello ligero,
Y alarga el paso corrido
A demandar las albricias
De nuestro bien sucedido,
A Addicha mi señora,
De cuya gratitud fio

Satisfara tu trabaxo,
Que nada dexa en olvido.”
Asi lo dixo y Mohamad
Al tiempo que el sol marchito
Esconde sus claros rayos
Dexando el cielo vacio
Descubrio los miradores
Do lleva el senuelo y tino
Y do la noble señora
Hace centinela y viso.
Solia muy de ordinario
Tener Addicha consigo
Muchas mugeres honradas,
A quien de costa y vestido
Sustentara y adornaba,
Y con estas de continuo
Puesta una cortina o paño
En la ventana tendido
Estaba todas las tardes,
Mirando si en el camino
Verian venir las requeas
Que eran de Macca el auxilio.
Estaban aquella tarde
En esta forma que digo,
Al tiempo que el aguardado
Mas que la luz en el limbo
Descendio del monte al valle
Aquel perfecto narciso,
Que quando el sumo Hacedor
Quiere cumplir su Juycio
Da la traça do no averta
Ningun himagenativo.
Asoyo el gallardo joven
Con aquel ser cristalino,
Que le influyo su Hacedor
Para hecho tan subido.
Venia en su compañía
Aquel serafin bendito,
Que sobre quatro verdugos
De resplandor diamantino,
Trahia una alcoba hecha
De color bermexo fino
Taxonada de aljofar y oro
Baxada del cielo inpiro
A modo de palio triunfo
Sobre su cuerpo pulido,
Dos angeles a sus lados
En traje humano vestidos
A modo de dos soldados
Del militar exercicio.

En este traje venia,
 Quando Addicha le vido,
 Que como absorta y turbada
 Baxo luego a recibirlo.
 Apeose y dio açalem
 Sobre ella y de su camino
 Le dio cuenta por entero,
 Como Mayçara le dixo.
 Ella tan agradecida
 Quanto el coraçon rendido
 A gualardonar la suerte
 De tan dichoso servicio,
 Le dixo "vuelve Mohamad
 Adonde Mayçara has dicho
 Que queda, y los dos mañana
 Entrareys juntos y unidos,
 Con la requa y la compañía
 Que a esta jornada haveys ido."
 Assi fue hecho y entraron,
 Y Mayçara apercebido
 Relató muy largamente
 El singular beneficio
 Que de Mohamad tenia;
 Y como le era debido
 Gualardon muy singular,
 Estraordinario y crecido;
 Y á mas desto muy de espacio
 Relató lo que eys oydo
 Del cuento de Yuhayar
 Muy a lo largo y tendido,
 Asi lo de la Annabua,
 Como dél ser su marido.
 De lo qual ella admirada
 En pago del buen aviso
 Le dio quatrocientas doblas
 De estrenas sin sus devidos;
 Y a Mohamad dixo aparte
 Ves con Mayçara al exido
 Donde apascientas mis vacas
 Y de todas escogidas
 Podras sacar tres terneros
 Y llevarlos a tu tio;
 Y sobre el sueldo asignado
 Otro camello te asigno.
 Dixole mas preguntando,
 Con termino entretenido
 Que haras con los tres terneros

Despues de haber los traydo,
 En que podras emplearlos?
 Dixo: "mi ami¹ me ha dicho
 Que quiere casar me aora
 Con la hija de un mi tio,
 Y el uno de los becerros
 El mexor y mas lucido
 Le dare por acidaque,
 El otro sera espendido
 En la boda y convidados,
 Y el otro para principio
 Del gasto, que estoy muy corto,
 Y Allah es el sobrado y rico."
 Dixole Addicha entonces:
 "Cierto que has destrebuydo
 Los terneros cueradamente
 Y en sus lugares debidos;
 Y pues gustas de casarte
 Siguiendo ese mismo hilo
 Yo quiero amigo que seas
 Casado como tu has dicho
 Por mi mano, y escusarte
 Siendo todo el gasto mio
 Y aliviarte de acidaque
 De las joyas y atabios.
 Todo quiero caulevarlo,
 Y darte asiento cumplido
 Con hija de tu linage
 Si a ti te accontenta digo,
 Hermosa graciosa y rica,
 Y a mas desto certifico
 Que te ama en sumo grado,
 Con coraçon casto y limpio."
 "¿Quien es, respondió Mohamad,
 De las hijas de mis tios
 La que das en su derecho
 Tantas partes que mi admiro."
 "Yo soy replico Addicha
 La que te suplico y pido
 Que me admitas por muger
 Si lo tengo merecido."
 Dice que abaxo Mohamad
 Aquel semblante bendito,
 De la amorosa demanda
 Afrentado y muy corrido,
 Puso los oxos en tierra
 Y asi respondiendo dixo.

¹ "tio paterno.

"Yo soy pobre como sabes
 Mi caudal corto y mezquino
 Tu riquísima y potente :
 Y aunque en linage medidos
 Las sangres en higual grado,
 En los algos desdecimos."
 "El algo que es perdurable
 Ese es el bueno y el rico.
 El qual en ti ye Mohamad
 Tengo tanteado y visto,"
 Dixo Addicha : "no dudes,
 Mi dicho habla a tu tio
 Para que luego mañana
 Siendo dello Allah servido
 Con diez de los de Curag
 De nuestros deudos y amigos
 Que os vengays en compañía,
 Donde sera concluydo
 Todo a tu gusto y contento."
 Y asi Mohamad lo hizo
 Como lo ordeno Addicha,
 Y tuvo efecto cumplido.
 Caso con esta señora
 En quien tubo quatro hijos¹
 Y tres hijas, y murieron
 Todos en tiempo florido.
 Solo Fatima la noble
 De las mugeres caudillo,
 La que caso con Ali
 Que fue de Mohamad primo ;
 Y de sus otras mugeres
 Tuvo solamente un hijo
 En Marien hija de Omar,
 Que tuvo por appellido
 Hibrahim, tambien murio
 En tierna edad, que ya quiso
 Allah que no los tuviese,
 Solo para el parayso

¹ Variante segun el MS. de Londres.

En esta tuvo ocho hijos
 Y hijas todos criados,
 Y se murieron infantes
 Que a mancebos no llegaron.
 Solo Fatima quedo
 De las mugeres el lauro,
 La que casó con Ali
 De su padre primo hermano,
 Y de las otras que tuvo
 Solo un hijo fué engendrado

Y para contradecir
 Y esmentir aquel maldito
 De Abuchahil que decia
² Que era abetar conocido :
 Y por que pues era solo
 En la gracia y escogido,
 Fuese solo a todas manos
 Esentario y algaribo).³

Pues quando Alláh fué placiente
 Y llegó al tiempo asignado
 Quel alcoran descendiese
 Y sus mandamientos santos ;
 Andando un dia Muhamad
 Por el monte tronizando
 De Ohud junto de Maca,
 Descuidado de tal caso
 Le aparecio el fiel Chebril,
 Y saludóle en llegando,
 Y luego quando lo vido
 Vino á espantarse algun tanto
 Y allegolo hasta sus pechos
 El angel, y asi apretado
 Amahole su persona
 Con sus manos de alto abajo,
 Diciendo : no tengas miedo
 O' Muhamad ó mi amado
 Que tu serás mensajero
 Del Señor que te ha criado,
 Lé sin temor ninguno
 Estas cartas que te traigo
 De parte del alto Rey,
 En donde vienen cifrados
 Todos quantos alquitebes
 Fueron del cielo baxados,
 Para que los amonestes
 Á todos en igual grado,
 Sin que de tu amonestanza

En Mariem hija de Omar,
 A' quien por nombre llamaron
 Ybrahim, tambien murio
 Mancebo tierno y lozano.
 Al fin aunque tuvo hijos
 Gozolos muy pocos años,
 Que ya el Señor fué servido
 Fuese sin hijos ni hermanos,
 Pues en la gracia fué solo
 Fuese solo á todas manos

² Es probable que aquí fulte algo (que no podia tenellos), y que abetar, de بطر, insolente, mala lengua, se refiere á Abu Chahil.

³ Aquí acaba lo del MS. de Paris.

Ninguno quede esortado¹
 Dirás que este *alcalam*²
 Del juro del soberano,
 Y que no hay ninguna duda
 En sus dichos declarados,
 Guia para los creyentes
 Que quieren seguir su bando,
 Aquellos que sus preceptos
 Serán temientes y llanos.
 “O Chebril,³ dixó Muhamad,
 Yo obedezco tu mandado,
 Mas que puedo ser yo solo
 Contra un destino tan largo,
 Tan endurecido y tan fiero,
 Y un destierro tan pesado;
 Que á mas de ser ydolatras
 Son tan fuertes y obstinados,
 Y tan remotos que todos
 Se anteponen á lo malo.”
 Replicole el fiel Chebril:
 “No te de ningun cuidado
 Que despues de Alláh soy yo
 Quien siempre estará á tu lado.”
 Dixo mas el annabi:
 “Como há de ser publicado
 Este tan grande espandio,
 Como sabré declararlo?
 Ni se leer ni escribir,
 Soy lego, no soy letrado,
 Y no podré dar soltura
 De su decir encumbrado.”
 La ora fué por Chebril
 Segunda ves amahado
 Enfluyendole la ciencia
 Y el saber mas acertado⁴
 Y dijole, “ye mi amigo,
 Lee sin ningun empacho
Ygra bismi Rabica,
 Aquel que te ha criado;⁵
 Lee con el nombramiento
 De tu Señor el honrrado,
 El que por el alcalam,
 Siendo lego te ha enseñado
 Aquello que no sabias,

De su secreto encerrado.”
 Con esto se despidio
 Chebril, y quedó pensando
 Muhamad en su embaxada
 Y en aquel hecho tan raro,
 Quedandole en su memoria
 Sin quedar punto ni razgo
 Estampadas las alaias⁶
 Que el angel le iba enseñando,
 Como si en el mismo alloh⁷
 Las estuviera estudiando.
 Y por aquel mesmo tono
 Las iban acopilando
 Por manos del justo Usmen
 Tercero en los diez hermanos:
 Asi fueron descendidas
 En dias meses y años:
 Todas las santas alaias
 De nuestro Alcoram honrrado:
 No baxaron todas juntas
 Si no que iban deballando,
 Segun la ocasion venia
 Á lo que va⁸ amonestando,
 (Y para dar las solturas
 Á lo que iban preguntando)⁹
 Al anabi los escribas
 Ydolatras y Judaicos.
 Otras para las conquistas
 En las batallas y campos,
 Unas alayas baxaban
 Con su perital¹⁰ mandado,
 Otros con devedamientos
 De lo injusto y reprovado,
 Otros memorando historias
 De hombres justos y malos,
 Para exemplar á las gentes
 Con estos antepasados;
 Otros las mensagerias
 Que el Señor ha revelado.
 Otras denotan castigo,
 Otras van amenazando,
 Otras prometiendo gloria
 Á los sierbos sobelados:
 Y asi cada qual baxaba

¹ Esentado, P.² Alcoram, P.³ Gibril, P.⁴ Encumbrado, Variante. Acendrado, P.⁵ Halecado, P. اقرأ باسم ربك الذى خلق⁶ Aleas, P. *versos* del Koran الآية.⁷ Tabla الموح.⁸ Iba, P.⁹ Del MS. de, P.¹⁰ Preceptal, P.

A su tiempo sovelado,¹
 Y así como Alláh tenía
 En su saber ordenado.
 Y siendo baxadas todas,
 El alquiteb ya formado
 Enseñado por el angel
 Por Muhamad publicado,
 Copilado por Usmen,
 Del annabi secretario,
 Para darle mas contento
 Le fué todo presentado
 De Chebril en una suma,
 Y quando fué cotejado
 Aquel que copiló Usmen
 En tiempo diverso y largo,
 Con el que trajo Chebril,
 Estaba tan sincerado
 Que punto no diferia,
 Como si una propia mano
 Y un alcalam² lo gravara.
 Digo en haber nada falto
 De alharfes xaddas³ ni puntos
 Ni en lo demas acetado⁴
 Que aquel que el angel le dió
⁵ Escribió su propia mano.
 Venia en diez y seis hojas
 De la grandeza y tamaño
 De una dobla damasquina,
 Y su alharfe tan delgado
 Como pelos de serpiente,
 La tinta en color morado,
 Y las cubiertas tenia
 Hechas de color castaño.
 Era ligible y visible
 Para todo alcafarado,⁶
 Y no lo podia leer
 Ninguno destaharado.
 Ni jamas hubo alcalam
 Que pudiese simularlo.
 Nunca lo dejó Muhamad
 Fuera de su diestro lado,
 Y luego como murió
 Fué muy de veras buscado
 Por Usmen y por Ali,

Y no pudieron hallarlo:
 Y creen que se volbió
 Por donde fué deballado.
 Luego como el annabi
 Fué por Chebril albriciado,
 Dió principio á su comanda
 Tratando y comunicando
 Entre sus deudos y amigos
 Con un singular recato
 Por temor de los Judios,
 Que ya lo andaban cercando
 De mucho antes que naciese,
 Sus contrarios⁷ adversarios.
 Por otra parte le anima
 El angel que de ordinario
 Le arrentaba⁸ y daba esfuerzo
 Sin un momento dejarlo;
 Y así no se detallaba
 Por ningun adverso caso
 De su perfeto⁹ juicio,
 Ni en repentinos rebatos,
 Suspendió ninguna duda:
 Ni fué en el responder tarduo
 Por que Chebril le albriciaba
 Lo presente adveniciado
 Y todo le era visible
 En un momento¹⁰ abreviado.
 Comenzó su mansedumbre
 Su suavidad mostrando,
 Una ynbocacion tan alta,
 Sin ser nadi de su bando
 Sin Rey ni grande ninguno
 Que le quisiese hacer lado;
 Solos tres de quien fiaba
 Su secreto y su cuidado.
 Era su habla tan dulce,
 Su decir tan tierno y blando,
 Que provocaba á seguirle
 En solo mover sus labios,
 Amonestó su anabua
 Entre los suyos y estraños,
 Entre amigos y enemigos
 Sin dar atras ningun paso.
 Entre tanta ydolatria

¹ Señalado, P.² Pluma.³ شَدّ señal de duplicacion.⁴ Eceptado, P.⁵ Lo, P.⁶ كَفَّارَة, expiados penitentes.⁷ Continuos, P.⁸ Alentaba, P.⁹ Profetico, P.¹⁰ Sumario, P.

Entre aquel pueblo judaico
Fuera de su genealogia
Y de su patria arredrado.
Nunca tuvo su persona
Oculta entre sus contrarios,
Y no fué nocido de ellos
Por mas que lo procuraron,
Fué siempre con sus compañías,
Que nunca quiso dejarlos,
Asi enseñando su ley
Como en las guerras lidiando.
Era de animo fiero,
Robusto furioso y bravo,
Valiente con los valientes
Y benigno con los flacos,
Tuvo saña militante
Soprimida no arrojado,
Conocido en las peleas
Muy diestro apie y acaballo.
Varon de muy grande fuerza,¹
Temido su fuerte brazo,
Era recto² en la justicia,
A la razon allegado,
Perdonador de ignorancias,
Sin ser de nadi rogado,
Compasiyo á los enfermos,
Amahador de los flacos,
Consolador de los tristes,
Socorredor de cuitados,
Nunca hizo mayorias
Entre sus contemporanos,
Ni quizo cetros ni pompas
De Reyes ni Prebostados;
Ni de sus grandes vitorias
Quizo ningun prez mundano,
Ni mas que sus Compañeros
Tomó para sí descanso:
A nadi daba sospecha
Por que estaba de su cabo
Muchas veces en exordio
En su Señor contemplando.
Amahaba las heridas
Solo con aceite blanco
Con que curaba las llagas
Con la gracia de su mano.

Desterro los azihrreros,
Y los sorteros falsarios,
Los misticos calumniantes,
Los fracidantes³ ingratos:
En⁴ su traje á la usanza
De los alabides santos,
Por que siempre fué en sus obras
Puro limpio justo y casto:
No tuvo rudeza humana,
Limpios sus miembros quedaron,
Sin ynez⁵ que lo incitase,
A ningun hecho profano:
Ni sueño que le adormeciese,
En ningun pesado caso,
Sin pernicioso accidente,
De transgresos evitado.
Bien es verdad que podia
Que al fin era hombre humano
Caer en cosas de genero,
Por su natural pegaso
Que fue adotibo del mundo,
Pero como fué esentario
No pudo nunca caer
Sino á la derecha mano
Por que la sogá humanal
Ni el mundo con su reclamo
No podian retraerlo
Del prez del que fué dotado.
Era sobenible⁶ estable,
Siempre lo tuvo en un grado
Su real magnificencia,
De que fué muy abonado,
Tuvo gracia especialada,
En superlatibo grado
Sobre quantos mensajeros
Y annabies deballaron,
Gracia que recluyó en ella
Quantas gracias alcanzaron.
Asi de juro deidoso
Como de genero humano.
Era de sueño ligero,
Siempre estaba sobelado,
Comia muy pocas veces
Y de muy pocos guisados,
Hambre sed calor y frio

¹ Grande esfuerzo, P.² Repto, P.³ Defraudantes, P.⁴ Era, P.⁵ انيس, indole.⁶ Su vinculo, P.

Tuvo segun nuestros sabios,
 Tuvo como los demas,
 Y no dicen que tuviese
 En ningun tiempo cansancio.
 Dice Alhasan tantas cosas
 De este bien aventurado,
 Que quando acabar pensamos
 Será no haber comenzado :
 Fueron como atras se dijo,
 Por las angelicas manos
 Taharadas sus entrañas
 Por que no fuese asentado
 El alcoram donde hubiese
 Muestra de ningun pecado :
 Rudeza especulatiba
 Señal sospecha ni rastro,
 Y ansi despues que en la tierra
 Sus editos comenzaron
 Cesaron los alcalames
 De los tronaes alarxicos,
 Dando los allohadores
 Espandio á sus traslados :
 En las terrenas comarcas
 Su santa ley enseñando ¹
 Imitando á los del Cielo
 Con toda prisa y cuidado.
 Dice Alhasan que dejó
 Nuestro annabi en poco rato ²
 Florecido su alcoran,
 Y despues del fué granado.

No tuvo genealogia
 Por que como está contado
 Todos sus hijos murieron ;
 Y Abilhasan aprobando
 El secreto de esta causa,
 Dice y afirma este caso ³
 Que los de su dim serian
 Sus descendientes cercanos,
 El tronco de su linaje,
 Por que su ley heredaron.
 Ordenó la sunaleja ⁴
 Con acuerdo de hombres sabios
 De sus queridos suhabes,
 Y por el angel guiados,
 Atendiendo á las flaquezas
 De los compuestos humanos,
 Dando en partes libertad,
 Y en partes nos apretando.
 Quedó su gracia espandida
 Sobre su dim enxalzado,
 Y sobre los muzlimes,
 Por que el Señor soberano
 Lo firmó con la promesa
 De su juro secularo.
 Y por esto nuestra ley
 Y sus mandamientos santos
 No puede ser derogada
 Como los otros quedaron,
 Hasta que con ella acabe
 Todo quanto fué criado.

CANTO CUARTO DE LA ISTORIA DE NUESTRO ANNABI MUHAMAD ÇALAM, TRATA DEL SUBIMIENTO A LOS CIELOS Y ENZALZAMIENTO DE LOS CINCO ZALAES.

En la mas solida noche
 Obscura lobreaga y negra
 Que despues que fué criada
 Causó la luz con su ausencia,
 En ella no cantan gallos,
 Ni campean bestias fieras,
 Ni aullan ni ladran perros,
 Ni aves nocturnas velan :
 Y no es mucho que los gallos
 De su cantar se suspendan,
 Ni que los perros no ladren,
 Mas es bien que se detengan

El susurrar de las aguas,
 Los cantos de las sirenas,
 El gemir de las serpientes,
 Los aullidos de las fieras,
 El retumbar de los montes,
 El eco de las cavernas,
 El sacudir de los vientos,
 El producir de la tierra,
 El brotar las tiernas plantas,
 El florecer de las yerbas,
 Y el navegar de los peces,
 Entre las aguas espesas.

¹ Ensanchande, P.² Espacio, P.³ Sabio, P.⁴ Çunna lege, P.

Ni que las demas criaturas
 Que sobre la tierra alientan
 Cesen de su acostumbrado
 Y esta noche se enmudezcan.
 Enmudezcan que es muy justo
 Y presten atenta oreja
 Por que lo dicho ¹ conciba
 Lo que no podrán sus lenguas :
 Y aunque la mia pretende
 Decir algo, es cosa cierta
 Que será sola la sombra
 De lo que decir pretenda
 Por ser el mas grave hecho
 Que sobre los hijos de Edam
 Descendio por escriptura
 Ni se figuró por señas.
 Diré lo que yo pudiere,
 Que no es mucho que me atreva
 A decir, pues la palabra
 De nuestro annabi me esfuerza,
 Lo mismo que el dijo, digo,
 Lo que el alcoran aprueba,
 Lo que su alaya refiere
 Verdad pura limpia y neta,
 Lo que pasó en una noche,
 Y aun en menos de hora y media,
 Quen muchos millares de años
 Ninguno pasar pudiera,
 Y pues para quien lo hizo
 Fué cosa llana y ligera :
 Digamos lo que la istoria
 Por su discurso nos muestra
 Desde el alto cideratu ²
 Diciende con gran presteza,
 Aquel Serafin mas bello
 Que erio naturaleza,
 Con un precioso mensaje,
 Y una tan alegre nueva
 Con la qual se alegra el suelo ;
 Y aun el cielo se hermosea,
 Y como el caso pedia
 Alegrias placenteras,
 Bajaba tan lindo y bello
 Quanto imaginar se pueda :
 Blanco que la niebe absconde,
 Su luz la del sol arriedra,
 Sus ropas con lazos de oro,

Y muchas flores en ellas,
 Con muchas alas tendidas,
 Llenas de preciosas piedras,
 Grande de grande estatura,
 De incomparable presenencia,
 Y sobre su hermosa frente,
 Dos azatras se demuestran
 Escritas de claredad,
 Y mas quel sol rayos echan.
 Le yleha yle Alláh, decia
 En el azatra primera,
 Muhamad Rasul Allah,
 Publicaba la postrera.
 Dijo el annabi : “yo estando
 Una noche oscura y fria,
 Entre Azafi y Almarguat
 Reposando al tiempo que era
 Mas sabroso y dulce el sueño,
 La noche en silencio puesta
 Quando del cansado dia
 La gente descansa y huelga,
 Me aparecio el fiel Chebril
 Muy hermoso, y como llega
 Me saludó y dice, amigo
 Despierta caudillo espierta,
 Despide el sabroso sueño,
 Que esta noche y hora mesma
 Hablarás con quien no duerme,
 Ni piensa, ni se trascuerda,
 Apercibete Muhamad
 Anda apriesa que te espera
 El Señor que te ha criado
 Para gracias tan inmensas ;
 Sube sobre este alborag, ³
 Que yo llevaré la rienda,
 Y lo guiaré al lugar
 A donde llevarte deba.
 Asi me apreté mis ropas
 Y sobre la hermosa bestia
 Cabalgué y Chebril guiando,
 Al marquediz ⁴ enderesa,
 Adelantose Chebril,
 Y sobre la santa puerta
 Del santificado templo
 Se puso y se me presenta
 Con tres brebajes diversos
 Sobre su mano derecha,

¹ El oydo, P.³ Alboraque, P.² Sideratu, P.⁴ Almaquediz, P. Jerusalem.

Que fue del hado indicio,
 Ordenatiba repreba
 Similitud propia y cierta
 De las tres leyes del mundo,
 (Mora Cristiana y Ebrea),¹
 Leche, miel y vino fueron :
 Y dice de esta manera,
 "Muhamad de estos especies
 Mira el que mas te acontenta
 Para beber, y el que fuere
 Toma y bebe lo que quieras."
 Muhamad sin detenerse
 Alargó la mano diestra
 Al vaso que estaba enmedio
 Dó la leche estaba puesta,
 Bebió de ella y fué tan poco
 Lo que bebió, que si fuera
 Todo, fuera gran bien nuestro,
 Pero fué desdicha nuestra :
 Dijo el angel : ó Muhamad !
 "Si acabaras y bebieras
 Toda la leche, y tu aluma
 Libre de chahana fuera."
 Arrepiso² el annabi
 Dijo con ansia sedienta,
 "Dame Chebril, beberé
 Dese vaso lo que resta."
 "No hay lugar, dijo Chebril,
 Por que ya en la mente eterna
 Era juzgado este hecho,
 No te aflija ni de pena."
 Entramos en la mesquida
 En la qual halle por cuenta
 Trescientos y tres³ hermanos
 Mensajeros y Profetas,
 Y ansi como entrar me vieron,
 Me hicieron gran reverencia,
 Y todos me saludaron,
 Mostrando en si grande fiesta,
 Diciendo, "seas bien venido
 Sello y esperanza nuestra,
 Profetisado por todos
 Los que están en tu presencia,
 Albriciamos⁴te Muhamad
 Que ante al Rey de la grandeza
 Eres el mas estimado

Que quantos pisaron tierra."
 Con esto me señalaron
 Poniendome en delantera
 Y ellos tras de mi en azaf⁴
 Y Chebril siendo almuedan,
 Celebramos dos aracas
 De azala y en siendo hechas,
 Todos me testificaron
 Por el ultimo profeta ;
 Y dando azalem sobre ellos,
 Salimos la puerta afuera,
 A donde estaba una escala
 No de rustica madera,
 Mas era de oro bermejo
 De plata y preciosas piedras,
 De corales y almarjen,
 Ambar alcanfor y perlas :
 Dijo el Angel : "ye Muhamad
 Sube por esta escalera,
 Que desde el lugar do estoy⁵
 Al cielo mas alto llega."
 Al pie de la escala atado
 El buen alboraque dejan,
 Y principiando á subir
 Por los escalones de ella
 Entrerrompense los cielos,
 Abrense⁶ clareantes puertas,
 Resplandecen sus entradas
 Sus alcazares y vegas,
 Gozanse los almalaques,
 Las potestades se huelgan,
 Las tronaciones se humillan,
 Y las alainas mas bellas
 Alaban á su Hacedor,
 Quen tal noche y tal belleza
 Les enseñó aquel por quien
 Todas cosas fueron hechas.
 Dixo el annabi, "subimos
 Yo y Chebril como el que vuela
 Llevandome de la mano
 Que momento no me deja,
 Vide estrellas rescolgadas⁷
 Como alumbrantes candelas
 Que del primer cielo penden,
 Y nuestro suelo gobiernan.
 Y en este primero cielo

¹ Del MS. de P.⁴ Azafes, P. lineas.⁷ Mas lucientes, P.² Arrepentido.⁵ Estas, P.³ Trece, P.⁶ Abren sus, P.

Halle á nuestro padre Edam,
 Al qual saludé y me dijo,
 "Hijo bien venido seas,
 Albriciote hijo bueno
 Con las mas honradas nuevas,
 Que oyeron quantos han sido
 Nacidos de mi linea."
 Luego pregonó Chebril,
 Y el azalá nos presenta,
 Y con nuestro primer padre
 Celebramos dos añefilas,
 Con que nos acompañaron
 Quantos almalaques eran
 En este cielo, y despues
 Seguimos nuestra carrera,
 Y llegamos al segundo :
 Donde en muy hermosas tiendas,
 Estaban Ise y Yahiyé,
 Con tanta gloria y riqueza,
 Y dando azalem sobre ellos,
 Dícenme enhorabuena,
 Seas bien venido Muhamad,
 Caudillo de los profetas. ¹
 Con ellos hice azalá,
 Y luego dimos la vuelta
 Para subir al tercero,
 Que no tardó larga pieza :
 Adonde estaba Yusuf,
 El que estuvo en la cisterna,
 Con el qual hice azalá,
 Y de la misma manera
 Que me albriciaron los otros,
 Me dio las albricias nuevas : ²
 Y subiendo al cielo quarto
 Mirando su gentileza
 Vide un almalaque grande
 Cuya admirable presencia
 Ni estaba triste ni alegre
 Sino como zahareña :
 No se alegró con mi vista,
 Ni aun me miró muy de veras,
 Ni se sonrió á mi cara,
 Como los demas lo hicieran,
 Aunque me dio el azalem
 Cumplido, y me dijo, "sepas
 O' Muhamad que tu eres
 El que á la naturaleza

Mandó Alláh que te dotase
 De quantas gracias se encierran."
 Tenia un alloh delante,
 Una tabla grande y bella,
 Escrita de parte á parte
 De muy apretada letra,
 Á la qual tabla miraba
 Con la vista muy aspecta, ³
 Clavados alli sus ojos,
 Que sus cejas no meneaba.
 Y yo que atento miraba
 Vi hacia su mano izquierda
 Un arbol grande y hojoso
 Y en todas sus ojas letras,
 Y yo deseando saber
 Esta causa tan secreta,
 Se lo pregunté á Chebril,
 Y dijome en su repuesta :
 "Has de saber ye mi amigo
 Que este que saber deseas,
 Es el angel de la muerte
 Que nunca jamas se alegra,
 Y puedes creer Muhamad
 Que si alegrarse hubiera,
 Á ninguna criatura,
 Á ti solo lo hiciera.
 Este alloh que está mirando
 Con tan grande diligencia
 Es al lauh almahfud, ⁴
 Digo la tabla que en ella
 Están los nombres escritos
 De quantos vida sustentan :
 Y aunque asi lo solicita
 En vigilancia perpetua
 En particular lo mira
 Cada dia cinco vueltas
 Que son aquellas cinco horas
 Tan encumbradas y esentas,
 Que para hacer azalá
 El Señor las escogiera,
 Y al siervo que en aquel tiempo
 Lo vé con negligencia,
 Quando le quita su aroh
 Asienta sobrel la pena,
 Y si lo vé cuidadoso,
 Con nia ⁵ y con limpieza,
 Alivianese sobre el

¹ Las promesas, P.² Buenas, P.³ Esperta, P.⁴ اللوح المحفوظ⁵ Annia, P. نية

Y trátalo con clemencia :
 Y para saber el tiempo
 Del morir quel plazo llega,
 Que se acaba el vital hilo,
 Y no tiene mas vivienda,
 Mira las ojas del arbol,
 Que tiene la misma cuenta
 De todos los halecados,
 Sus nombres puestos en ellas,
 Y quareinta dias antes
 Que su plazo se le acerca ¹
 Ponese triste la oja
 Y marchitanse sus letras,
 La ora sabe que acaba,
 Y que su plazo se acerca,
 Pues no tiene mas arrizque,
 Y en cumpliendo los quareinta
 Dias caese la hoja,
 Y acude con gran presteza,
 A recibirle su arroh
 Que ya mas vida no queda.
 Dijo el annabi si acaso,
 O' por suerte fuese puesta
 En manos deste almalaque,
 Lo que hay en el cielo y tierra
 No haria alli mas bulto
 Que sobre la tierra mesma ²
 Un grano de esta mostasa
 Que es simiente mas pequeña.
 Pasamos mas adelante
 Y en una muy rica tienda
 Hallamos al justo Edrez ³
 Aquel de la vida eterna
 Haciendo azala con él
 Despues de nuestras ofertas
 Subimos al cielo quinto
 Y en entrando por la puerta
 Hallamos un viejo honrrado
 Blanca la barba y cabeza
 Rodeado de almalaques
 De sin numero ni cuenta
 Sobre un *alcazar* ⁴ muy rico
 Con gran sosiego y prudencia.
 Yo le pregunté á Chebril
 Por aquel viejo quien era :
 Y dijo, tu padre Ybrahim,

Saludale, y con prestesa
 Le saludé, y el á mi
 Como nuestro padre Edan
 Me saludó como hijo,
 Y yo le hice obediencia
 Despues hice dos aracas
 Con él y los que le cercan,
 De almalaques tanto açafe
 Que en este cielo gobiernan
 Y mirando á todas partes
 Llegamonos á una puerta
 Muy rica de alcanfor blanco
 Con cerraduras bermejas.
 Yo le pregunté á Chebril
 Por que puerta fuese aquella
 Tan rica y tan bien cerrada ;
 Y dixo llegate á ella
 Con le yleha y le Alláh
 Y al momento sera abierta.
 Asi lo hice y se abrio
 Y asomandome por ella
 Vi los mas bajos abismos
 De los centros de la tierra ;
 Vide la obscura chahana
 Con sus lobregas retretas,
 Con sus hedientes prisiones,
 Con sus grillos y cadenas,
 Con sus fuegos encendidos,
 Y vi como en ella penan
 Muchos de los de mi aluma :
 Alláh della nos defienda.
 Yo le pregunté á Chebril
 Que compañías son aquellas
 Tan lazradas y ennegridas.
 Y dijo de esta manera,
 Has de saber ye Muhammad
 Que aquellos que asi se mesclan
 En el fuego son aquellos
 Que comieron las haciendas
 De los popillos ⁵ que fueron
 La cura de sus tutelas ;
 Aquellos desa otra parte
 Son los que el logro aumentan
 Sus algos mal caullebados
 Con la codicia sediepta ;
 Los otros son del fornicio

¹ Acelera, P.⁴ Alcorçí, P.² Tierra yerma, P.⁵ Popillos, P.³ Ydriz, P.

De la llaga torpe y fea
Que sus simples apetitos
Saciaron en parte ajena.
Dixo el anabi Muhamad
Si esto que yo veo vieran
Los halecados del mundo,
Todos de espanto murieran.
Subimos al sexto cielo
Mirando sus estrañezas
Y vide á mi hermano Muse
Sobre un alimbar de perlas
Saludamonos los dos
Y diome las buenas nuevas
Que los demas me habian dado
Quen los otros cielos quedan.
Aqui vide un almalaque
Con setenta mil cabezas,
Y en cada cabeza habia
Setenta mil caras, y ellas
Cada setenta mil bocas
Y con setenta mil lenguas
Cada boca tasbihaba
A la divina potencia
Con setenta mil lenguajes
Que uno á otro no semeja.
Despues que azalá hicimos
Seguimos nuestra vereda
Hasta llegar al seteno
Del qual vi la gran belleza
De aquel lugar do Chebril
De ordinario se aposenta
Cideratu almuntahe¹
La cosa mas alta y bella
De quantas hay halecadas
Celestiales ni terrenas.
De aqui produce la fuente
De zalzabil² que por ella
Corren aquellos dos rios
Que el Paraiso rodean
Donde me bañe y salieron
Mis pecados de mis cuestras
Los que habia adelantado
Y aquellos que hacer me restan.
Aqui se paro Chebril
Por que su gran fortaleza

No bastaba á soportar
Solo un paso mas que diera
La claredad del Señor
Por que de muy clara quema.
Despedíme de Chebril,
Y otro angel se me allega
Muy hermoso y paladino,
Y de grande fortaleza,
Y muy cortezanamente
Me dixo con faz muy leda
Bien venido seas Muhamad
Do tanto bien³ te desean,
Que yo dos mil años antes
Que el Señor formase á Edam,
Hizo azalá sobre ti,
Que otra cosa no me emplea:
Y pues Allah fué servido
Que en esta noche te vea,
Y se cumpla mi codicia,
Esfuerzate amigo esfuerza
Que yo te acompañaré
En el viaje que llevas.
Y asi en una tienda rica
Entramos los dos en ella
Y pasamos una mar
De claredad, que si fuera
En un caballo corriente⁴
Uno de los de la tierra
No la pasara en cien años
Por gran prisa que se diera
Y yo la pasé mas presto
Que el ojo se abre y se cierra.
Otro mar despues pasamos
Escura espantosa y fiera
Que pidi ad Allah socorro
De ver el espanto de ella.
Aqui hallé un almalaque
Que el agua misura y peza
La qual⁵ las nubes distilan
Para que las yerbas crezcan
Cuyo nombre era Migueil
Que con cara placentera
Me saludó y me albricio
Y cerca de alli me muestra
La grandeza de Yzarafil.

¹ سدرۃ المنتهى nombre de un arbol.

⁴ Corriendo, P.

² سلسبیل

⁵ Lo que.

³ Ver, P.

O' soberana sapiencia
 Que has formado halecado
 Que tan sin medida y fuerza
 Que sustente sobre un hombro
 La maquina y la grandeza
 Del alarx del Piadoso,
 Donde asiste por esencia
 Y la bozina en su boca
 Que cielo y tierra penetra
 A' donde estan los arrohes
 Como en su pan las abejas.
 Vilo tan apercebido
 A' soplar que en su presencia
 Pretendi hubiera soplado
 Y su cargo concluyera.
 Despues que nos saludamos
 Y vi toda su estrañesa
 Vide los quatro almalaques
 Aquellos quel alarx llevan.
 Vi despues otro almalaque
 Que le acompañan y cercan
 Setenta mil almalaques
 A' quien manda que obedescan
 El señor todas las cosas ¹
 En lo que le pertenezcan.
 Este me asio de mi brazo
 Llevando en compañía nuestra
 Todos los que le seguian
 Con mil generos de fiestas
 Y pasamos siete estajos
 Sus distancias y larguezas
 Que cada estajo tenia
 Quinientos años de leguas,
 Y su distancia asi mismo
 No hay ojo que tal comprehenda.
 Oy la voz soberana
 Que desde su grande alteza
 Dixo, yá mis almalaques
 Levantad las antepuertas
 Esas que de mi anabi
 Su vista impiden y vedan
 Y los que el cargo tenían
 Luego alzaron las cubiertas;
 Vi levantar las emparas,
 Vide tanta gentileza
 De almalaques azaxdados

Sin levantar sus cabezas,
 Otros vide arraqueando
 Que sus cuestas no enderezan,
 Otros estaban sentados
 Que ni se alzan ni azachedan ²
 Y todos en sus posturas
 Están sin mudarse de ellas;
 Hasta que al son de la trompa
 De yzarafil se estremezca.
 Vide el alarx de oro blanco
 En cuya fabrica puestas
 Vi setenta mil ciudades
 De hermosos angeles llenas."
 O' quantas grandezas vido
 Esta noche el gran Profeta,
 Quantas admirables cosas,
 Quantas gracias tan secretas;
 Vio los cielos y su anchura
 Con quanto en ella se encierra,
 Vio todos los almalaques
 Sus ordenes y sus letras ³
 Vio todos los mensajeros
 Quantos publicaron letras;
 Y hizo azala con todos
 En la casa reverenda.
 Despues de esto en cada cielo
 Prosiguio esta misma arenga,
 Que con todos se detuvo,
 Y á todos hizo obediencia,
 Vio á chahana y sus espantos,
 Vio el alchana y sus bellezas
 Vio sus rios vio sus fuentes,
 Sus alcazares y vegas,
 Vio mares claras y oscuras,
 Tantos misterios en ellas,
 Traspasó aquellos estados ⁴
 Y sus anchuras tan buenas ⁵
 Cielos distancias y amparas
 Tantos millares de leguas
 Traspaso aquella noche
 Que tiempo no pirdio en ella.
 Pues lo que en millares de años
 Caminar no se pudiera
 No le hubiera hechado falta
 Quien la pestaña moviera.
 O' cosa jamas oída,

¹ Todos aquellos, P.² Estallos, P.³ Azaxdan, P.⁴ Luengas.⁵ Reglas, P.

O' gracia sin comprehendencia,
 O' merced unica y sola,
 Que nadi llegó á tenella !
 No la subida de Edriz,
 Ni de Noh la fortaleza,
 Ni la amistad de Ibrahim,
 Ni de Ayub la gran paciencia,
 Ni de Muse las razones
 En la ensantecida sierra,
 Que tuvo con su Señor
 Sus demandas y repuestas ;
 Ni el reyno de Sulaimen
 Sus tesoros y riquezas,
 Ni el enalzamiento de Yze
 Dentre la nacion hebrea
 No igualaron á esta sola.
 Ni aunque se ponga con ellas
 Quantas gracias poseyeron
 Todos los demas profetas.
 Mirando estaba Muhamad
 Al alarx y su lindeza,
 Tanto azafe de almalaques,
 Tanto tasbih y le yleha
 La resplandor que despide
 La divina y alta esencia,
 Que atemoriza el decirlo,
 Cosa tan grave é inmensa
 Que turba el entendimiento,
 Y se enmudecen las lenguas
 De haber de tratar de cosas
 Sin cosa que le semeja.
 Vio la claredad de Allah
 Ques quanto ver se desea,
 Fin de todos los contentos
 Remate de gloria nuestra.
 Esto estaba contemplando
 Quando vio que se sosiegan
 Todas las cosas criadas
 Que voz ni ruido no suena
 Y en medio de este silencio
 Oyó la suma grandeza

Que dijo : “ ye mi anabi
 Yo soy tu Señor allega
 (Acercate á mi Mohamad :) ¹
 Yo soy Allah el alto y grande,
 Allegate á mi no temas.”
 Y como oyese esta voz
 Le tremolaron sus venas
 Que semejantes palabras
 No es mucho que tiemble y tema.
 Dixo : “ atahietu lillehi, *
 Señor a ti es la obediencia,
 A ti las salutaciones,
 A ti la alleganza buena,
 A ti el azala perfeto
 A ti la suma limpieza.”
 Y dichas estas palabras
 Paró dando atenta oreja
 A ver lo que su Señor
 Le manda ó le dá licencia.
 Dixo Allah: “azalemu aleicum” ²
 Ye mi anabi, mi clemencia
 Y mi gracia te cobije,
 Y mi bendicion te venga.”
 Los cercanos almalaques
 Que á esto daban audiencia
 Viendo que las bendiciones
 Solo á Muhamad las echa
 “Asalemu aleyne * dizen,
 La paz y salvacion sea
 Sobre nos y con los siervos
 Que hacen las obras buenas.”
 “Axchedu dixo entonces
 Afirmando la creencia
 En le yleha yle Alláh
 Solo, sin quien le paresca.” *
 En diciendo esto Muhamad,
 Los almalaques apruevan
 Lo dicho, y dixeron mas
 Afirmando su encomienda
 “Axahedu ana muhamad *
 Es su sierbo y su profeta.”

¹ P.² Alayco, P.

* التحيات لله والصلاة والطيبات السلام عليك ايها النبي ورحمة
 الله وبركاته والسلام علينا وعلى عباد الله الصالحين اشهد ان لا اله الا
 الله وحده لا شريك له واشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله

Dixo Allah : "ye mi anabi
 Ves mi cara ó mi presencia ?"
 Dixo, "Señor no te veo
 Que tu claridad me ciega,
 Veo tu claror divino
 Quanto mi vista penetra,
 Pero los ojos del alma
 Tracienden y á verte llegan."
 Dixo Allah : "ye mensajero
 Demanda por lo que quieras
 Que yo soy el Piadoso¹
 Y grandes son mis grandezas."
 Dixo Muhamad yo estaba
 Pensando que me² dixera
 Y demande á mi Señor
 Demandas justas y honestas.
 Dixe mas : "Señor grandisimo
 Tienes hechas mil promesas."³
 Y como corriendo sangre
 Vi la espada de la guerra
 De su defensa y resguarda
 Fué la demanda primera.
 "Demandote Señor mio
 Si acaso ha de haber peleas
 Sobre mi y los de mi aluma
 Sean las menos que puedan,
 Pidote que nos desvies
 Del daño que hacer nos quieran,
 Y á todo bien nos inclina
 Y de hacer mal nos defiendas."⁴
 Dixo mas, Señor grandisimo
 Tienes hechas mil promesas
 Á los que ante mi han sido⁵
 Por sus obras y proezas :
 Ya fuiste amigo de Ibrahim,
 Y hablaste á Muse en la sierra,
 Y perdonaste á David
 Su grande desobediencia,
 Distes á Sulaimen el reismo
 Con esplendida franqueza,
 Y levantaste á tu cielo
 Á Edriz por su gran pureza :
 Pues que querras darme á mi
 Con tantas mercedes hechas.

Dixo Allah : "si dí esas gracias
 Que dices, otras me quedan
 Muy mayores con que puedo
 Orrar á quien lo merezca ;
 Que si fue mi amigo Ibrahim
 Que lo pidieron sus prendas,
 A ti tomé por amado
 Para que me arredoblescas ;
 Y si con Muse hablé
 En la montaña desierta,
 Á ti sobre mis amparas
 Do jamas ninguno llega ;
 Si he subido á Edriz al cielo
 Á ti á la mayor alteza
 Do nunca subio criatura
 Por muy perfeta que sea :
 Y si perdoné á David
 Despues de su apenidencia
 A ti ya te he perdonado
 Lo hecho y lo que hacer puedas :
 Y si á Zulaimen he dado
 Grande reismo y potencia,
 Á ti la zora de alhumdu
 Y la de alif lem mim delica.⁶
 Dite el mes de Romadam,
 Quel que su ayuno caulleba
 Vivirá perpetuamente
 En vida de gracia llena.
 Dite el dia de alchumua⁷
 Que excede á todas las fiestas
 Y te di el rio de Alcauzar
 Con sus fuentes y riberas.
 Dite el sello de la gracia
 Ques todo de gracia llena,
 Mira si pues contentarte,
 O' dime que mas desees."
 Contentome Señor mio
 Pues tu quieres que merezca
 Alcanzar tantas mercedes
 Mediante tu gran clemencia.
 Dixo despues : "yá Muhamad
 Yo quiero que me adeudesas
 Preceptos que aquellos guardes
 Tu y los que de tu ley sean."

¹ Poderoso, P.² Le, P.³ Estas dos líneas faltan al MS. de Paris.⁴ Devieda, P.⁵ Seydo, P.⁶ الم ذلِكَ⁷ Aljumua, P. Dia de viernes.

Yo dixé : "ye mi Señor
 Tú eres quien mandas y vedas
 Y yo soy el obdiente."
 Y él ques justo que obedezca
 Adeudecio sobre mi
 En día y noche cincueynta
 Azalaes¹ y con esto
 Descendi de su presencia.
 Llegué á donde estaba Musé,
 Y diome la enhorabuena
 De mi venida, y me dixo,
 "Cuentame de que manera
 Te ha ido con tu Señor."
 Y yo le di cuenta entera
 De lo que me adeudecio
 Que le guarde y le mantenga.
 Respondiome, "ye Muhamad
 Muy pesada carga es esa,
 Vuelve á tu Señor y mio
 Y di que te alivianezca
 Por que es muy flaca tu uma²
 Y no podrán mantenerla."
 Así rogué á mi Señor
 Y vino de vuelta en vuelta
 Por la persuacion de Musé
 Á resolverse mi deuda
 En solos cinco azalaes
 En el día y sus tinieblas :
 Y de todos la alfadila
 En estos cinco resuelta.
 De aqui me tomó Chebril
 De la mano, y por las guertas
 Del alchana paseamos,
 Viendo las fertiles vegas
 De Alcauzar y Zalzabil,
 Sus aguas dulces y buenas.³
 Y en saliendo del alchana

Baxamos por la escalera
 Donde hallamos lalboraq
 Como quedó atado en ella ;
 Y cabalgando sobrel
 Á Maca dimos la vuelta,
 Estando la noche en calma
 Y en su mismo punto puesta.
 Quando vino el claro día
 Ya que á clarear comienza
 Vino Chebril á Muhamad
 Le dio la forma y manera
 De las arracas de azubhi⁴
 Como tenia de hazellas
 Puesto el anabi tras del,
 Y el angel en delantera.
 Hicieron las dos de azubhi
 Con todas sus continencias,
 Y al punto de medio día
 Volvio, y por la misma regla
 Hicieron las quatro racas
 Quen el dohar⁵ se celebran.
 Despues volvio por la tarde
 Ques en la ora tercera
 Del día, ques la de alaçar
 Y aquel azala le enseña.
 Hizose el magrib con tres
 Quando el sol absconde y cierra,
 Despues la ora de alatema
 Quando cierran sus tinieblas :
 Y dixole ye mi amigo
 Estas cerimonias hechas
 Son de los cinco azalaes
 Que has baxado en encomienda.
 Todo le fué así enseñado
 Quanto la santa ley nuestra
 Manda por su decretanza,
 Y el alcoram nos lo muestra.⁶

CANTO DE LA DECLARACION DE LA ZORA' DE ALHAMDU.

Tocan palmas y atabales
 Y otros varios instrumentos
 Los ydolatras de Maca,
 Muy alegres y contentos,
 Recibiendo siete requas
 Que cargadas de sustento

Entran á Maca aquel día
 Que de Damasco vinieron.
 Y el mensajero Muhamad
 Está afijido y suspenso,
 Congoxado en su persona
 Con muy grande sentimiento ;

¹ Açalaes, P.² Aluma, P.³ Frescas, P.⁴ Açobhe, P.⁵ Adohar, P.⁶ Nos monesta, P.⁷ سورة

No por que el temor le aflija¹
 Que jamas cupo en su pecho.
 Que donde hay perfeta fe
 El temor no tiene asiento,
 Ni por codiciosa embidia
 De ver sus contrarios fieros
 Alegres con sus viandas
 En tan apretados tiempos.
 Ymbidia rencor ni saña
 No cabe en su pensamiento,
 Que libre desto quedó
 Quando le abrieron el pecho.
 Afíigese el ver los suyos
 Que habia tres dias enteros
 Que no han comido vianda
 Que fuese de algun sustento.
 Y aquel entrañable amor
 Que no lo dexa un momento
 Le atraviesa las entrañas
 Aunque lo tiene en secreto.²
 Y con el dolor que siente
 Su pecho amoroso y tierno,
 Ad Allah esta peticion
 Dirije en su pensamiento.
 "Señor tú que te asomas
 Sobre lo oculto y secreto,
 Y sabes de tus criaturas
 Sus hechos malos y buenos,
 Tú que das sustento al malo,
 Y aflijes con hambre al bueno,
 Tú que permites que sean
 Alimentados y ledos
 Estos fieros enemigos,
 Y deshambrientos tus sierbos;³
 Das sustento á quien te ofende.
 Y á quien te adora tormento,
 Das arrisque á quien te deja
 Sin ningun merecimiento,
 Y á quien te alaba y bendize,
 Reprebas cada momento.
 Mira Señor mis compañas
 Tan flacos y macilentos
 Quen sola tu piedad
 Tienen su vida y sustento,
 Mas cerca está tu socorro
 Quel ligero pensamiento,
 De contino está tu gracia

Rescolgada á nuestros ruegos,
 Jamas negues tu piadad
 Á quien la pidio en estrecho,
 Á todos corre tu arrahma
 Á todos va dando aliento,
 Como estos sierbos aguardan
 De tu piadad el remedio."
 Estando el santo profeta
 En este apretado estremo
 Le aparecio el fiel Chebril,
 Estas palabras diciendo:
 "La salvacion sea contigo
 O' flor de los mensajeros
 Sello de las profecias
 Principio de los primeros,
 Alegrate gran caudillo,
 Que solo á alegrarte vengo
 Con una graciosa nueva,
 De grande gloria y contento;
 Tu Señor la paz te ymbia
 Y para que satisfecho
 Quedes de tu peticion,
 Te ymbia este gran consuelo,
 Que si dio á los de Curax
 Tan abundantes sustentos
 Que son para en este mundo
 Sustancia de solo el cuerpo:
 Si les dio siete reaquajes
 Cargados de bastimentos,
 Con los quales se contentan
 Sin otro merecimiento;
 Para ti y los de tu alumia
 Otros mayores contentos
 Al derredor de su alarx
 Guarda el Señor de los cielos.
 Quanto es en las siete tierras,
 Quantos viven en los cielos,
 Quantos viven en las mares,
 Quanto los quatro elementos
 Producen con sus especies,
 Hasta las nubes y vientos,
 Todos demandan perdon
 Para ti y tus compañeros
 Hasta el día del juicio,
 Sin parar solo un momento
 Con mas setenta redobles
 Todos de encarecimiento;

¹ Aflija, P.² Encubierto, P.³ Y desobedientes siervos, P.

Y mas que serán cerradas
 Las siete puertas del fuego.
 A ti y á todos los tuyos
 Que seguiran tus preceptos.
 Mas te ha dado tu Señor
 En satisfacion de aquello
 Un dia de siete dias,
 Que es en la semana el sexto,
 De quien su grande alfadila
 Es mayor y de mas peso
 Que los firmamentos todos
 Que circunda el alto cielo.¹
 Mas te ha dado tu Señor
 Para el contrapeso destes
 Siete requajes que ha dado
 A tus adversarios fieros:
 La zora de las loaciones
 Ques mejor que quantos fueron
 Decendidas en el mundo
 A todos los mensajeros:
 Siete alayas hay en ella
 Siete encumbrados misterios,
 En los quales se contiene
 Quanto pedir puede un siervo.
 Los ciento y quatro alquitebes
 Que sobre los mensajeros
 Han descendido hasta hoy,
 Y todo quanto hay en ellos,
 Todo está en el alcoram,
 Y aquel cifrado y compuesto
 En esta azora de *alhamdu*
 Sin faltar solo un momento.²
 Y para que mejor veas
 La semejanza de aquesto,
 Advierte y veras el modo
 De lo que te está propuesto.
 Quando un mercader muy rico
 Va camino y el dinero
 Lleva en plata y pesa mucho,
 Y para andar mas lijero
 Trueca la plata por oro
 Ques mejor y menos peso.
 Caminando en su jornada
 Parecece que aun con esto
 El oro le pesa mucho,

Como el camino es molesto.
 Para andar mas aliviado
 Y mas oculto el dinero,
 Troca el oro por aljofar
 Ques mejor y menos peso.
 Los ciento y quatro alquitebes
 Que antes de ti descendieron
 Son semblanza de la plata
 Ques su volumen mas grueso.
 El oro es la semejanza
 Del alcoram verdadero
 Ques mucho mas su valor
 Y el volumen mas ligero.
 Alhamdu es aljofar fino,
 En donde se resumieron
 De todos los alquitebes
 Sus encumbrados misterios.
 Y por que mas claro veas
 Desta azora el alto precio
 Has de saber que se asconde
 En ella este gran secreto,
 Que qualquiere que la dize
 Con limpieza te prometo
 Que habla con su Señor
 Sin otro algun instrumento.
 Y por que quiero que entiendas
 Que lo que te digo es cierto
 Oye su declaracion
 En estos siguientes versos.

Quando sobre el azala
 Se presenta el siervo bueno
 Y dice *alhamdu lillehi*³
 Pregunta el Señor, "¿ye siervo
 A quien das esas loaciones?"⁴
 Y luego responde á esto
 Le yleha yle Allah
 Ques mi Señor sempiterno.
 Quien es Alláh ese que nombras?
 Pregunta el Señor y luego
 Dice: *rabi yilamin*.⁵
 Que quiere decir en esto
 El señor de toda cosa,
 Ques sin par solo y sereno.⁶
 Prosigue el Señor y dice:

¹ Ancho suelo, P.² Acento, P.

الحمد لله

⁴ Loores, P.⁵ رب العالمين⁶ Señero, P. especial.

“Dime siervo verdadero
 Ese señor que apellidas
 Quien es? “y luego al momento
 Dice á *Rahman y Rahim*.¹
 Que denotan sus acentos
 Piadoso de piedad
 Que acoge á malos y buenos.
 “Quien es el Señor piadoso?”
 Pregunta Alláh, prosiguiendo:
 Responde el siervo: *maliqui*
Yaumi din,² y dice en esto,
 Rey del día del juicio,
 Que juzgará los secretos.
 Dice Alláh, “díme quien es
 Ese Rey tan justiciero?”
 Responde y *yeca nagbudu*,³
 A ti adoro y reverencio
 Y á ti demando socorro:
 Dice en el siguiente verso
 Con *gua yeca nastaymi*,⁴
 Y como ya satisfecho
 De las propuestas loores
 Quel siervo hastaqui ha propuesto,
 Dice Alláh: “siervo querido
 Estas loores que has hecho
 Hasta aquí son para mí,
 Y por tales las aceto;
 Pide ahora si algo quieres
 Pase adelante tu ruego,
 Que yo daré á quien me pide
 Si me pide con derecho.”
*Yhedina*⁵ dice entonces
 El buen muzlim, pidiendo

Ad Alláh por que lo guie
 Al camino justo y recto,
 No á la carrera yerrada,
 Mas al camino de aquellos
 Sobre quien hiciste gracia⁶
 Con tus justos mandamientos,
 No al camino que trocaron⁷
 Los judíos con sus yerros,
 Ni al que los torpes cristianos
 Con su ceguedad torcieron.
 Aquí concluye la azora,
 Y quando acaba diciendo
Emin:⁸ “Alláh le responde:
 “Yo cumplire ye mi siervo
 Estas gracias sobre ti,
 Pues lo merece tu ruego.”
 Mira pues santo Muhamad
 Como el Señor verdadero
 Mediante esta *azora* habla
 Mano á mano con su siervo;
 Y si con tantas mercedes
 Puedes quedar satisfecho
 En pago de las viandas
 Que los requaxes traxeron.
 Dixo Muhamad entonces,
 “O señor yo te agradezco
 Estas mercedes tan grandes,
 Y quedo alegre y contento
 En que les des este mundo
 Con todos sus ornamentos,
 Y á mí y á los de mi alumna
 El otro ques ab eterno.”

CANTO DE LAS LUNAS DEL AÑO. CUENTANSE LOS AYUNOS Y DIAS BLANCOS Y AZALAES⁹ QUE SE HAN DE HAZER Y LAS RACAS¹⁰ DE CADA DIA.

Las doze lunas del año
 Segun el Arabe cuenta,
 Decendieron tantas gracias

A nuestro santo Profeta,
 Y á todos los seguidores
 De su regla santa y buena.

¹ الرحمان الرحيم

² اياك نعبد

³ اهدنا الصراط المستقيم

⁴ غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين

⁵ الصلاة p'egaria.

⁶ مالك يوم الدين

⁷ واياك نستعين

⁸ صراط الذين انعمت عليهم

⁹ آمين

¹⁰ ركعة inclinar el cuerpo.

Sin los que relataré
 Si Dios me da aliento y fuerza
 Que á su divina gracia
 Reciba y abonar pueda.
Almuharam; *Safar* son
Rabi al aguel, *Rabi alehar*
Chumed alule la quinta,
 La sexta *Chumedu alehar*,
Rachab, *Xaüben* la otaba
 Y *Ramadan* la novena,
Xaguel, *Dulquieda*, *Dulhiche*
 Que es la última y postrera.
 De la primera diremos
 Su alfadila¹ y su nobleza,
 Los ayunos que contiene
 Sus azalaes y añefilas²
 Que es toda esta santa Luna
 De mil bendiciones llena,
 Que Dios siempre en los prin-
 cipios
 Crió cosas muy perfetas.
 Si para los casos leves
 Para ynteresses de haziendas,
 Para edificar cimientos,
 Plantar plantas, sembrar huertas,
 Aun para tallar las ropas,
 Para las compras y ventas,
 Siendo cosas transitorias
 Con que el cuerpo se alimenta,
 Tomemos buenos principios,
 Buenos dias y oras buenas;
 Quanto mas ó Muzlimes
 Debemos y con mas veras
 Alimentar nuestras almas,
 Que es gloria perpetua eterna;
 Y principiar buen principio
 Con obras de virtudes llenas.
 Renovando nuestra nia,³
 Las costumbres y viviendas:
 Dando de mano á los vicios
 Procurando las viviendas
 Con sobelancia y cuidado:
 Por si en eso no cuenta
 Feneceran nuestros dias.
 Pues es cosa clara y cierta
 Que un dia de los del año

Habemos de dar la cuenta.
 Y resistar nuestras obras
 Ante la suprema alteza
 Y aun si bien nos acordamos
 Tenemos mas cierta rienda,
 Que en seis dias hizo Allah
 Quanto en el mundo sustenta.
 Y en siete han de fenecer
 Todos quantos vida tengan.
 Pues si en estos siete dias
 Que en la semana se encierran
 Hemos de morir sin duda,
 Y uno dellos nos espera,
 Con quanto cuidado deben
 Los hombres entrar en ella.
 Repitiendo en la memoria
 Lo que el justo real Profeta,
 Digo, Señor cada ora
 Veo el dia de mi cuenta.
 ¡O dia de *Alhad*!⁴ y quando
 En ti comiençan quien piensa
 Ver cumplida la semana?
 Y en medio anegado queda.
 Pues para evitar el pismo
 De los que tal consideran,
 Entren con buenos principios
 Y asistan de tal manera,
 Se empleen en el servicio
 Déel que todo lo gobierna.
 Demos pues al año nuevo
 Principio con nueva fiesta,
 Alegando cuerpo y alma,
 Por ser la Pasqua primera.
 El tercero de esta Luna
 De *Almuharam* se celebra
 Un dia de siete dias
 Que sobre nuestro Profeta
 Decendieron escojidos
 Para gloria y salud nuestra.
 Son dias de grand ayuno
 Segun se nos representa
 Por los grandes espondios
 Que su alfadila nos muestra.
 El dezeno es el segundo
 Destos siete y sus grandezas
 Enbotan nuestros sentidos.

¹ الفصلة² النوافل plegarias que no son de obligacion.³ intencion نية.⁴ احد

Y para que parte dellas
 Entiendan los Muzlimes
 Sera bien les demos cuenta.
 Este es el dia de *azora* ¹
 En el qual la Suma alteza
 Crió las cosas mas altas
 Señaladas y perfetas.
 El alarx el alcorei
 La luz relumbrante y bella :
 Levantó los siete cielos
 Y los adornó de estrellas
 Y los pobló de almalaques
 Y puso aquellas lumbreras
 Del sol y la blanca luna,
 Con los signos y planetas.
 Crió el Señor el alchana
 De gloria adornada y bella,
 Y la plantó con sus manos,
 Ymajinen que tal sea ;
 El alloh el alcalam
 Halecó, y les dió licencia
 Que escribiese el alcoram,
 Sello de toda grandeza.
 Escribió Allah el taurat
 Con la mano de su esenica,
 Este dia decendió
 La rahma á los hijos de Edam.
 Asentó los firmamentos
 Ygaló las siete tierras,
 Y adornóla con sus manos
 Con plantas, flores y yerbas
 Las mares dulces y amargas
 Y sus amparas entre ellas.
 Formó nuestro primer padre
 A nuestra madre primera,
 Levanto á Edriz al cielo
 Por su perfection sinzera.
 Fue Ibrahim libre del fuego,
 Y Yusuf de la cisterna.
 En el penó Faraon,
 Ayub sanó de la lepra,
 Daniel fué libre del fuego,
 Perdonó el Señor á Edam,
 Este dia paró el arca
 Sobre la mas alta sierra,
 En este dia traspasó Yçe

Dentre la nacion Hebrea,
 Nació Yce, salió Yunez
 Del vientre de la ballena,
 Dió el Señor á Zacarias
 Por sus rogarias y ofertas
 El hijo que tantos justos ²
 Donde tomó su aspereza.
 Cobró su vista Tobias,
 Libró Dios la jente Hebrea,
 De poder de los Caldeos,
 Con otras gracias ynmensas
 Que el Señor en este dia
 Quizo hazer por su nobleza.
 Y para mas congraciarse
 Dos dias de Pascua y fiesta
 El noveno y el dezeno
 Y el onzeno, y se celebra
 Sus dias con azalaes
 De gracia y son quatro añefilas
 Con *althamdu* una vegada
 Y *culuhuas* ³ cincuenta.
 En cada araca se digan,
 Y al tiempo que han de ser hechas
 Es en la ora de adohar ⁴
 Antes que alaçar ⁵ venga.
 Esta luna concluida
 Y la que viene tras esta
 Es de *Zafar*, y no tiene
 Ayuno que la suspenda.
 Pero el que quiera emplear
 Aun el trezeno della
 El catorzeno y quinqueno,
 Y ganará tal empresa
 Para el dia del Juicio
 Que le aliviará su afrenta.
 Estos son en cada luna
 De grande quilate y cuenta
 Para quien fueron criados,
 Tambien de la parte angelica.
Rabi alaguel prosigue,
 Luego su noche dozena
 Nació nuestro gran caudillo
 Muhamed, y se celebra
 Su noche con alegria,
 Con claredad y limpieza,
 Loando al Señor que quizó

¹ عشورا⁴ Medio dia.² Aqui parece que falta algo.⁵ Entre medio dia y el anochecer.³ قل هو

Sacarnos de las tinieblas
 Del axaitan, y librarnos
 Con tal ley y tal Profeta.
 Clarearon esta noche
 Los cielos, mares y tierras,
 En cuya ynsignia su aluma
 Encienden lumbres y velas.
 Esto basta ó muzlimes
 Para que en tal dia pueda
 Memorar su santo nombre
 En azala ó como sepa.
 Quien habra de sus criaturas
 Que tan sin cuidado duerma?
 Consideren bien que tuvo
 Despues del arahma inmensa
 Pues esto santo anabi
 Y aun al que á tener espera.
Rabialequal cumplida
 Luego entra *Rabialehar*
Chumed alule le sigue
 Tras esta *Chumedu alohar*,
 Que las pasamos en vuelo
 Por no saber que hazer en ellas,
 Solas las seis no nonbradas
 Que en todas las lunas quedan.
 Entra *Rachab* la famosa
 De mil alabanzas llena,
 Fuente de tanto descanso,
 De tantos provechos vena,
 Esta luna es dedicada
 A la soberana alteza
 Por sus abonadas rahmas
 Por sus gracias tan ymmensas;
 Dizese luna de Allah.
 Y aunque las otras lo sean
 Esta quisó para si,
 Especialar su nobleza.
 Solo este apellido basta
 Y quantos en ella crean
 Asobelar esta luna
 Con ayuno y con limpieza.
 Que mayor retumbo puede
 Sonar en cielo ni en tierra
 Que decir Luna de Allah?
 ¡O soberana grandeza!
 ¿Quien podrá, o Muzlimes!
 Mover los labios y lengua?

El terçero de esta Luna
 Es de los siete que quedan,
 De los demas relatados,
 Que en el la primera alea
 Decendió del Alcoram
 Honrado, y aun otro queda
 Destos siete, en esta luna,
 El veinte y seteno della,
 Y de los siete es el quarto.
 En esta Luna setena
 Hay de azala treynta racas
 De gracia desta manera.
 Las diez su primero dia,
 Las diez en el medio dellas,
 Y las diez al fin, y darse
 Quinze azalemes en ellas
 Y lea en cada araca
 Una vez *alhamdu* entera
 Y diez vezes *euliyuhu*
Alquefirina,¹ tras esta
Culukhua allahu ahadu ²
 Otras tres vezes se cuenta.
 Acabada esta santa luna,
 Y luego se representa
 Otra no menos copiosa
 De alfadila y de grandeza,
Xaban es la esclarecida
 Dedicada en su pureça
 A nuestro honrado Anabi.
 Mas de Muhamad se cuenta
 Lalfadila de su ayuno
 No hay trascendencia que pueda
 Significar su principio,
 Ni parte que sea entera
 Y bastale su apellido
 Sin buscar otras arengas
 Para conocer su precio.
 Lo que nos llama y enseña
 Su quinzeno dia es el quinto
 De los siete que se cuentan.
 Noche del tahir ³ se llama,
 Segun los alimes cuentan,
 Que se llama del tahir
 Por que sirve su limpieza
 Por todo un año sin duda.
 Digo ad aquellos que mueran
 Por causa sin tahararse

¹ قل يا ايها الكافرون² قل هو الله احد³ Purificacion.

O que bañar no se puedan,
 A estos sirve esta gracia
 Que es como si al punto fuera
Takarado por sus manos,
 O por los que vivos quedan.
 Y ansi los que á tahararse
 Esta noche se desvelan,
 Les cobijara la *rahma*
 Del Señor de la nobleza.
 En esta noche se hazen
 De voluntad cien añefilas
 Con sus cincuenta azalemes;
 Y se ha de leer en ellas
Alhamdu solo una vez,
 Y once *culuhuas* por cuenta,
 Pidiendo despues perdon
 Al Señor de sus flaquezas.
 En esta luna adelante
 Su noche veintisietena
 Tambien azala de gracia
 Deben hazer quatro añefilas
 Con *alhamdu* una vegada,
 Y otra vegada tras esta
Yde zultilat ilardo,¹
 Y veinticinco por cuenta
Culuhua alla hu ahadu
 Y a la ora que sean hechas
 Es entre *almagrib* y *alatema*.
 Y quando cumplidas sean
 Azachede² con la frente
 Digo sobre la alhacera³
 Y *alhamdu* con *culuhua*
 Y los dos *oulaudus*⁴ lea
 En cada azora tres vezes,
 Y en alçando la cabeça
 Dando al Señor alabanças,
 Diga: no hay poder ni fuerça
 Sino con Allah el grandissimo,
 Quanto el ojo se azacheda.
 Cumplida esta santa Luna,
 Sus estandartes despliega
 La preceptada á Muhamad
 Y a su aluma verdadero.
Romadan la engrandecida
 De las doce la novena!

Secretos grandes de Allah
 Que no fuese la primera.
 Quien podrá ó Muzlimes
 Para poderos dar cuenta,
 Si quiere el menor simile,
 Tener junto con mi lengua
 La platica de Alhaçan,
 De Cabu alehaber la ciencia,
 El dezir de Catredata,
 De Algazel la eloquencia,
 De Ben arabi el discurso,
 Los similes de Avicena,
 De Omar Bei el buen estilo,
 De Almorabi la sentencia,
 De Aben Ruiz el ingenio,
 Y junto con todas estas
 La gracia y sabiduria
 De Zulaiman, y escribiera
 Con el alcalam de Uzmen
 Y su consejo y prudencia.
 Que do prudencia no asiste
 No sirve verdad entera:
 Como con todo esta *layda*⁵
 Y mi voluntad sinzera
 Relatada esta Luna
 Sus encumbradas grandezas:
 Pero admitan mis deseos
 Todos quantos esto lean.
 Y pues que todo me falta
 Diremos largas arengas
 Por dezir la obligacion
 Que esté mes me representa.
 Primeramente la lengua,
 Los sentidos y potencias
 Muy unidos y conformes
 Dando de si tales muestras,
 Quen todo se eche de ver
 La contricion y limpieza,
 Que tiene el cuerpo y el alma,
 Conociendo su flaqueza.
 Y la merced que le hizo
 El Señor que lo sustenta
 Es guiarnos al camino
 Del adim por que pudiera⁶
 Son infieles descreidos

¹ إذا زلزلت الأرض² Postrarse.³ الحصى la estera.⁴ قُلْ أَعْمَدُ⁵ عيد fiesta.⁶ Aquí parece que falta algo.

Ymajine que tal sea
 Pues porque nadi lo ignore ;
 Y lo que le obliga entienda
 Queste ayuno no consiste
 Solamente en abstinencia
 Del comer y del beber,
 Que tambien ha de haber rienda
 En detener los sentidos,
 Las manos, ojas, y lenguas,
 Los oidos y los pies,
 Que ande todo en la obidencia
 Del Señor que lo ha criado
 Para su servicio y cuenta.
 Hagan parada sus leyes,
 Atajense las malezas,
 Detenganse las codicias,
 De las hambrientas haziendas,
 Olvidense las quistiones,
 Los enojos y pendencias,
 Enemistades y bandos,
 Ambiciones y violencias.
 Gimán nuestros corazones,
 Conformense en avenencias
 De nuestras culpas y yerros,
 Y en lo venidero ymienda.
 Abrasese el axaitan
 En sus tormentos y penas,
 Alegrese el Muzlim
 Dando alabanzas immensas
 A quien le dió entendimiento
 Para conocer sus yerros.
 Pasemos pues adelante
 Su noche veintisetea
*Laylat ulcadri*¹ se llama,
 Noche de contento llena,
 Sobrepuja en alfadila
 A mil meses, porque en ella
 Decendio la mayor gracia
 Ques sobre los hijos de Edam :
 Deçendió despues que fueron
 Criados cielos y tierras
 Que fué el honrrado alcoran
 Sobre nuestro gran Profeta.
 Solenizan esta noche
 Con tazbihes y le ilehas

Y de açala quatro añeñilas
 Con una vegada *alhamdu*,
*Yne anzalanehu*² lean
 Cien vezes, y *culuhua*
 Otras veinte y cinco lean,
 Y para que concluyamos
 Esta luna, quando sea
 El tiempo del despidir
 Su noche veintinovená,
 Perfuma tu casa y ropas
 Con todas olores buenas
 Y renovando el tahor,
 Entrarás en la alhacera
 Diciendo *zubhan Allah*³
 Tres vegadas, y tras desta
 Dirás en salutacion
 Tres vezes desta manera :
 “Ayuda y salva Señor
 A Chebril por su nobleza,
 A Miqueil y á Yzarafil
 Y á Azarayel y á quien lleva
 La grandeza de tu alarxe,
 A Hagua tambien á Edan
 Y á todos los almalaques
 Que halecaste en el cielo.”
 Despues hareis dos arracas,
 Liendo *alhamdu* una dellas,
 La grandeza de su *alarx*
 Y *culiayuhe*⁴ y *yde chea*⁵
 Siete vezes cada *alea*.
 Y acabando rogarás
 Al Señor que te dé fuerças
 Para aumentar en virtud
 Los servicios y obras buenas,
 Y que reciba tu ayuno
 De la suerte que deseas,
 Confiando que su arahma
 Un punto jamas se aleja,
 Siempre nos va dando aliento,
 Siempre la tenemos cerca,
 Y donde su rahma asiste
 No hay que temer cosa adversa.
 Cumplida esta Luna honrada
 La que detras della entra
 Es *Xaguel*, sus tres dias

¹ ليلة القدر² اِنَّا اَنْزَلْنَاهُ فِي لَيْلَةِ الْقَدْرِ³ سبحان الله⁴ قل يا ايها⁵ اِذَا جَاءَ نَصْرُ اللَّهِ وَالْفَتْحُ

Primeros son pasqua y fiesta
 Por honra de Romadam,
 Que los Muzlimes se alegran
 Con los cantares divinos
 Del adim y su limpieza.
 Pasado el primero dia
 Desta pasqua, los que quedan
 Son dias de gran ventaja,
 Su ayuno y su grandeza
 Tiene un año cumplido
 De alfadila y de nobleza.
 No tiene mas que avisar
 Esta luna, mas la onzena
 Ques *Dulquiseda* tiene un dia
 Su veintiqueno della,
 Y es el sesto de los siete
 De quien hemos de dar cuenta.
 Entra la luna *Dulhiche*,
 Ques la dozena y postrera,
 Ultima fin y remate
 No menos que la primera.
 Su noveno es *arafa* ¹
 De quien la escriptura cuenta
 Tan yncomparables gracias
 Que á las de Axora se semejan:
 Es de los siete el seteno
 Y aquel que ayunarlos pueda
 Ganará de un año entera
 Toda su alfadila entera.
 Mas para que me detengo
 Tanto en dezir las proezas
 Destas alfadilas tantas,
 Pues mucho mas questo encierra
 La promesa del Señor
 Que nos ofrece por ella,
 Que nos ha de dar descanso
 Al questas obras sobela,
 Pues dice quel dará.
 ¿ Que alcalam habrá que pueda
 Llegar á lo que pretende
 Con mares, rios y arenas ?
 ¿ Que gotas tiene la lluvia ?
 ¿ Que plantas tiene la tierra ?
 ¿ Que peso tienen los montes
 Y que numerosas yerbas ?
 ¿ Que precio el sol y la luna ?
 Y el cuento de las estrellas

Que comprenden y á los cielos
 Con mundos, y que comprendan
 Queso muevan ellaluma ²
 Donde el peso y su promesa.
 Despiertese el Muzlim,
 Saque fuerças de flaqueza,
 No pierda tantos despojos,
 Como aqui nos representa
 Estos ayunos de gracia.
 Mira que nos amonesta
 Por nuestro honrado Alcoram
 Que en el dia de la afrenta,
 Nos serán estos preceptos
 Gran alivio á nuestras penas,
 Grande sombra al gran calor,
 Y á su espanto gran defensa.
 El dezeno desta luna
 Pasqua de los adahcas, ³
 Por honra del sacrificio
 De Brahím y su deguella,
 Son quatro dias siguientes
 De contento gozo y fiesta,
 De donde el alma y el cuerpo
 Se descansan y se huelgan.
 Sacrificio de sus reses,
 Sana gorda buena y neta
 Á la hora de adoha
 Ques quando el sol se estienda.
 Atada de pies y manos
 Tome lalquibla derecha,
 Y al tiempo del degollar,
 Diga aquel que la deguella
Bizmi yllahi Allah hu aqbar
 Y tenga perfumes buenos
 En parte linpia y secreta.
 Esta ha de ser cada Pasqua
 Que de parte se celebra.
 Mate una res si puede,
 Y sino aquello que pueda,
 Que Dios recibe las obras
 Segun como las sobelan.
 En esto los alhijantes
 Visitan y reverencian
 La santa casa de Allah.
 Por ques preceptada deuda
 Una jornada en la vida
 A los que cunplirlo puedan.

¹ عرفات² El mundo. Aquí parece que falta algo.³ ضحية victima.

Y pues Allah fue servido
Y dió lugar questa tierra
Sojuzgasen los infieles,
Que nos reprimen y fuerçan
A seguir sus falsos ritos
Contra la santa ley nuestra,
Hasta nuestras propias casas
Sus sombras nos hazen guerra:
Esforçemos estos dias

Quanto en nuestro poder sea
A lo menos el de Arafa
No quede por negligencia
Y alcançaremos el premio
Del que el alcaba rodea.
Quatro dias son festivos
Los que la pasqua enseña
Y cumplidas sus aracas
Pasan, que no hay mas en ellas.

LE HAULE GUA LE CAUGUATA ILE BILLAHI YLALI
YLADIMI¹

لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم¹

BIZMI YLLAHI Y RAHMENI Y RAHIM.

Dixo nuestro anabi Muhamad salam: ad Allah hay noventa y nueve nonbres sin los demas apellidos, con que su divina majestad se nonbra, que sin numero especialanse: con estos noventa y nueve nonbres quien los nonbrare y rogare ad Alla con ellos entrará en el alchana. Adviertese que se nonbran los nonbres en arabigo por la margen en derecho de aquellos su declaracion alchemiada á modo de rogatiba y peticion ad Allah taale.

Ya alla يا الله

Esencia divina y sola
Que desde tu inpirio asiento
Ziñes, comprendes, y abarcas
Cielos, tierras, mar y centro.

Ya rabi يا رب

Señor, que tu Señorío
Es sin limite ni cerco,
Pues con ninguno confina
Mas de con tu ser inmenso.

Ya rahmenu يا رحمن

Piadoso, que en este mundo
A quantos en el nacieron,
Con tu piádad los encubres
Qual si todos fueran buenos.

Ya rahimu يا رحيم

Piadosisimo en el otro
De los que te obedecieron,
Donde con sus obras flacas
Les apesgaron su peso.

Ya maliku يا ملك

Rey que reynas para siempre
Por que es sin igual tu reyno,
A cuyas leyes se humilla
Lo ques á la tierra y cielo.

Ya cuducu يا قدوس

Santisimo ensantecido,
Santedad, santo, y bien nuestro,
Solo ensantecerte saben
Tus espiritus angelicos.

Ya zalemu يا زالم

Paçifico, paz perpetua,
Paz pura sin yndirectos,
Que á ninguno mueves guerra
Por sus faltas y defectos.

Ya muminu يا مومن

Creyente que tu creyencia
Fué antecendida á tus sierbos
Y como tu te conoçes
Fuiste el creyente primero.

Ye muhaiminu يا مهيمين

Purificado en tus obras,
Que no se hallará en tus hechos
Quanto mas y mas se mira,
Falta, quiebra, ni defecto.

Ye azizu يا عزيز

Honrado que á todos honras
Segun sus merecimientos,
A todas sus obras miras
Y a nadi con menosprecio.

Ye chabaru يا جبار

Poderoso sobre todos,
Pues quantos poder tuvieron
Con tu poder son forzados
Acabados y deshechos.

Ye mutacabiru يا متكبر

Mayor, que los mayoríos
Reduces a mas pequeños,
Y á los menores levantas
Al mayor de los asientos.

Ye cadimu يا قديم

Grandisimo engrandecido,
Que no tiene abarcamiento
Tu grandeza do no llega
Ningun humano talento.

Ye alimu يا عليم

Sabio que tu solo sabes
Lo oculto y mas encubierto,
Y por lo que es en tu ciencia
Distes el saber á los legos.

Ye halimu يا حليم

Paciente que tanto sufres,
Tantas faltas y defectos,
Y á todos les das parcida
Hasta su conocimiento.

Ye tariu.¹

Morador que ante tus ojos
Los alarxes estan puestos,
Y tu vista los traspasa
Sin ningun ynpidimiento.

Ye baciru يا بصير

Veedor que nos penetras
Lo oculto de nuestros pechos,
Y ves a donde camina
El fin de nuestros intentos.

Ye haqimu يا حكيم

Juzgador que has de juzgar
Lo bueno ó malo que obremos,
En particular juicio,
Y despues en universo.

Ye zamiu يا ساميع

Oydor de quien te llama
Todas oras y momentos,
Y quanto la voz mas flaca,
Haze ante ti mas estruendo.

Ye nuru يا نور

Claredad clara y perfeta
Que los antepuestos velos
Traciendes, y a quien te adora
Clarificas alma y cuerpo.

Ye hadicu يا هادي

Guiador que nos enseñas
El camino limpio y neto,
De ancho corto y suave,
Si de nuestro no torcemos.

Ye muchidu يا مجيد

O noble que ennobleciste
Tantos y tan ricos templos
Con tu divina palabra
Por los de tus mensajeros.

¹ Aquí parece que hay un error.

Ye chadidu يا شديد

O fuerte que tantos fuertes
A tus fuerzas se rindieron,
Y todas sus fortalezas
Fueron humo viento y sueño.

Ye aliyu يا على

Altissimo, ensantecido,
Soberano alto y supremo,
Que á los humildes levantas
Y abates á los soberbios.

Ye çadicu يا صادق

O verdadero quien duda
Tus dichos tan verdaderos,
Suma bondad, sumo bien,
A quien creo y reverencio.

Ye hacu يا حق

Averdadeciente á todo
Quanto en tu nombre dixerón
Tus honrrados alquitebes,
Y los que los escribieron.

Ye hamidu يا حميد

O loado! á quien alaban
El cielo y sus movimientos,
La tierra, yerbas y plantas,
Hombres, aves, fieras, vientos.

Ye zububu يا سبوح

Bendito á quien las tres voces
Bendizen á sus acentos,
Y tu bendiccion ensanchas
La flor de nuestros sustentos.

Ye cabiru يا كبير

Mayor, que los mayores
Tu te quedaste con ellos,
Y así los dos por tus manos
Por diferentes senderos.

Ye gadudu يا ودود

Amoroso, que tu amor
Los tienes a bando lleno,
Y amas á los que te aman
En particular estremo.

Ye muzilu يا مذل

Deballador de las plubias
Sobre los montes y yermos,
Con quien abebras y crecen
Todos los mantenimientos.

Ye beiçu يا باعث

Rebilocador de los ojos
Adormidos e yncurueños,
Y para tu residencia
Rebilocaras nuestros cuerpos.

Ye halieu يا خالق

Formador de lo formado
De todo quanto se ha hecho,
En seis dias lo formaste
Sin tener ningun acuerdo.

Ye beiçu يا باعث

Criador, que tus criaturas
Que de los vientres salieron
Pequeños, y ya son grandes
Sin ver por donde crecieron.

Ye muçaguiru يا مصور

Figurador que figuras
Los rostros lindos y bellos,
Los cuerpos grandes y chicos,
Los tullidos y contrechos.

Ye guaiçu يا واسع

Abarcante que comprendes
Tu alcorçe y los firmamentos,
Sin darte enojo ni pena
Ninguna su guardamiento.

Ye hayu يا حي

Vivo que morir no puedes
Por no ser sujeto al tiempo,
Y todas las vidas mueren
Por tu plazo y querimiento.

Ye guafaru يا غفار

Perdonador de pecados
De los que se arrepintieron,
Y á los que sus culpas lloran
Con pecho sinzéro y tierno.

Ye cayumu يا قيوم

Mantenedor que mantienes
Tu divino ofrecimiento,
Y no puede tu promesa
Ser trocada en ningun tiempo.

Ye muqçitu يا مقسط

Justiciero justo juez
Que á todos das su derecho,
Quanto en perdonar piadoso
Tanto en su justicia reto.

Ye niema al maule يا نعم المولى

O mejor de los mejores!
Que la mejora te dieron
Tus hechos altos y grandes,
Por donde te conocemos.

Ye nieme anaziru يا نعم النصير

El mejor de las defensas,
A cuyo amparo acudieron
Quantos fueron defendidos
Del Ibliz y sus enredos.

Ye ganiyu يا غنى

Rico que das las riquezas
De sin numero ni cuento,
A unos por su descanso,
Y a otros por su tormento.

Ye caribu يا قريب

Cercano que no dexas
Jamás tu acompañamiento,
Pues dentro de las entrañas
Te tenemos y queremos.

Ye zahibu يا صاحب

Compañero fiel y firme
Tan constante firme y fiero,
Que sino te despidimos
No nos dexas un momento.

Ye xarifu يا شريف

Gracioso que das tus gracias
Por tan diferentes medios,
Tantas y por tantas partes
Y nadi vive contento.

Ye muicçu يا معز

Honrador de los honrados
Que honraron tus mandamientos,
Y á tus justos anabies
Congraciaron y siguieron.

Ye mudilu يا مذل

Abatidor de los malos
Que negaron tus preceptos,
Y fueron desobedientes
A tus santos mandamientos.

Ye duleguati يا ذو القوة

El de la gran fortaleza
Con la qual todos tus sierbos
Sufrieron tantos martyrios
Tantas muertes y tormentos.

Ye muhiyi يا محيى

El que da vida á los vivos
Mientras viven en el suelo,
Que no hay vida que mas viva
De lo que le das aliento.

Ye mumitu يا مميت

El que da á los vivos muerte
Sin dexar á nadi esento,
Que no sirve largo plazo
Pues todos han de ser muertos.

Ye muqtadiru يا مقتدر

Ordenador de los plazos
De las mejoras del tiempo,
De verano y primavera,
Del otoño y del yubierno.

Ye mucadiru يا متقدر

Anticipante á tu amor
Antes que criados fuesemos,
Y sobrevino tu arahma
Tu perdon y tu remedio.

Ye mugahiru يا موخر

Tarduo en darnos castigo
Quanto mas lo merecemos,
Y tu justicia dilatas
Para que nos reparemos.

Ya muntaqimu يا منتقم

O tomador de venganza
De aquellos que no quisieron
Obedecer tus mandados,
Y tu ley escarnecieron.

Ye afuu يا عفو

Dador de parcida larga
Sobre los aflijimientos,
Como á tu querido Ibrahim
Diste parcida en el fuego.

Ye hemiu يا حامى

Aplegador que complexas
Tantos copiosos exercitos,
Y allegarás á juicio
A los que serán y fueron.

Ye mugniu يا مغنى

Conflexador que conflexas
Las fortunas y *albeles*,¹
Que sobre los halecados
Baxan por sus nocimientos.

Ye razecu يا رزاق

O dador de los arizques,
Que baxo los hondos pielagos
Das arizque á los gusanos
Y á las aves en los vientos.

Ye meniu يا مانع

Devedador de la saña
De tanto indignado pecho,
Y á los airados refrenas
De executar sus deseos.

Ye cabidu يا قابض

Recojedor, que recojes
Al yugo del salvamiento
A los que engaño este mundo
Con sus deleitosos ceños.

Ya beçitu يا باسط

Ensanchador, que ensancheces
Sobre quantos decendieron
La ley del santo Alcoram
A los demas proçedieron.

Ye rafu يا رافع

Enxalçador de los justos,
Que por sus justos meritos
Levantaste al justo Edris
A la gloria de tu cielo.

Ye ehafidu يا خافض

O abaxador, que abaxaste
Los almalaques soberbios
De los mas altos estados
A los mas baxos asientos.

Ye nefu يا نافع

Aprovechante á los fieles
Creyentes justos y buenos
Que tu santa ley guardaron
Y por fé te conocieron.

Ye darru يا ضار

Dañador de los infieles,
Aquellos que descreyeron
Con los que por tu alcoram
Les dixo tu mensagero.

Ye mubdiu يا مبدى

Principiador sin principio,
Que tantos principios fueron,
En tu nombre principiaron
Y en el mismo fenecieron.

Ye muydu يا معيد

Estorbador, que estorbaste
Las maquinas y argumentos
De los que en tu ofensa hazian
Torres casas y cimientos.

يا فعال Ye faalu

Hacedor de lo que quieres
Sin parecer ni consejo,
Lo que quieres deshazer
Lo deshaces asi mesmo.

يا محصى Ye muqsiu

Comprendedor, que comprendes
El numero de los cuentos
De todas tus criaturas
Y el conto de sus alientos.

يا ولي Ye gualiū

Procurador que procuras
Por lo que á tí se acorrieron,
Y demandarán tu auxilio
Y a tu amparo se acorrieron.

يا تواب Ye taguebu

Recibidor de repisos,
Repentidos verdaderos,
Y das las apenidencias
A quantos te la pidieron.

يا رؤوف Ye rafu

Arahmoso que tu arahma
Amahó el vientre caverno
Donde Yunez estuviese
Guardado sano y entero.

يا كافى Ye qafu

Bastante, que no hay quien baste
A dar un solo argumento
A cosa que tenga vida
Si cesa su bastimento.

يا وارث Ye guariqu

Heredero de tu gloria
Que á tí serán los herencios
De todo lo que has criado,
Que al fin todos tuyos fueron.

يا رشيد Ye raxidu

Adreçador, que adreçaste
A Musa en el mar bermejo,
Por donde libres pasaron
Sus prosapantes Hebreos.

يا واجد Ye guachidu

Trovador, que te trovaron
Los antiguos y primeros
Tan grande y tan poderoso
Como agora los modernos.

يا شكور Ye xacuru

Agradecido á lo poco
Quen tu serbizio hazemos,
Pues por tan miseras obras
Recibes nuestros deseos.

يا وكيل Ye guaquil

Sostribançado sostribas
Todo nuestro atallamiento
Y quanto mas sostribamos
Mas seguridad tenemos.

يا شهيد Ye xahidu

Testigo de nuestras obras
Que á tu no hay trasponimiento
Que todo es en tu presencia
Por mas que nos ascondemos.

يا رقيب Ye raqibu

Considerado, espacioso,
No arojado ni soberbio,
No entristecido en tus obras
Tirano ni fraudulento.

يا مجيب Ye muchibu

Respondedor á las obras
De los acongozados ruegos,
Que á los tales das tu rahma
Mas presto quel pensamiento.

يا حسيب Ye haqibu

O tomador de la cuenta
Del dia solo y tremendo,
En el qual tus anabies
Daran cuenta con sus pueblos.

يا خبير Ye habiru

Avisado que no duermes,
Ni te alcanza algun trasuero,
Ni ignoras ni dudas cosa,
Ni piensas ni estas suspenso.

Ye latifu يا لطيف

Sutil en todas tus obras
Primo delicado y diestro,
Que á las obras de tu mano
No hay alcance ni maestro.

Ye maliq almulqi يا ملك الملك

Rey del Reismo, que diste
A Zulaimen tal gobierno,
Y despues se lo quitaste
Para su mejoramiento.

Ye dulchulali gualicrami

يا ذو الجلال والاکرام

El de la nobleza y honrra,
Quien honrran y ennoblecieron
Almaques y annabies
Bien aventurados dellos.

Ye fatehu يا فتاح

O carpidor de la tierra
Con las yerbas en sus tiempos,
Y aquel que las nubes abre
Con relanpagos y truenos.

Ye mubinu يا مبين

Declarado quesclareces
A nuestros entendimientos,
Y en carta clara escreviste
Lo pasado y venidero.

Ye tahiru يا طاهر

Limpio, que alinpiarnos mandas
Por que á ti nos alleguemos
Con tu azala el apurado
Nuestros lados e ynstrumentos.

Ye hafidu يا حفيظ

O guardado que te guardas
En tu divino secreto,
En donde guardas las obras
De aquellos que te sirvieron.

Ye agualu يا اول

Primero, primer principio,
Que tu principio primero

No principio, pues no tienes
Quando, como, ni en que tiempo.

Ye chiru يا آخر

Ultimo, que a ti no hay cabo,
Fin fincable y abeterno,
Que remueve toda cosa,
Despues de todos postrero.

Ye hadiru يا حاضر

Presente á todas las partes,
Que no hay traça ni concierto,
Que tu divina presencia
No esté de ordinario en medio.

Ye betinu يا باطن

Intrinseco que ascondiste
Tan encumbrados misterios
A la humana transcendencia,
Pues ninguno llegó a verlo.

Ye hadu يا احد

Unidad, unico y solo
Sin igual ni compañero,
Que no permite segundo,
Semejança ni tanteo.

Ye zamadu يا صمد

Obedecido de todos
A cuya obidencïa fueron
Venidos cielos y tierras
Con todo quanto hay en ello.

Ye man lam yulid يا من لم يلد

El que no enjendró á ninguno
Ni tuvo hijo heredero,
Ni quiso ni pudo ser
Por que no pudo tenello.

Ye man lam yulad يا من لم يولد

El que no ha sido enjendrado
De nadi no pudo serlo,
Solo fue, y solo será,
Causa sin causa y sin çetro.

Señor por el alfadila
 Que en estos nonbres has puesto,
 Y por el grande espandio
 Que tiene cada uno dellos,
 Por el conto que le diste
 De noventa y nueve, siendo
 Sin cuento y fué tu querer
 Que no llegasen á ciento,
 Por el *alif* de tu gracia,
 Por el *lam* de tu consuelo,
 Por el *min* de tu creencia,
 Y el *ha* de su amahamiento,
 Por los veinte y nueve alharfes,
 Donde encerraste el secreto
 De tu ley santa y bendita,
 Y el prez de su enseñamiento :
 Por ciento y catorze *asoras*
 Que baxaron á este suelo ;
 Y por los embaxadores
 Que tus cartas espandieron ;
 Por el alinchil de Ibrahim,
 Por el azabur de Dend,
 Por el ataurad de Muçe,
 Y por el santo evangelio,
 Por la fuente y manantio
 Que proceden todos estos,
 Que fué tu onrrado Alcoram,
 Fin de todos los decretos.
 Señor por tu amigo Brahim,
 Por Muçe tu consejero,
 Por Almasih tu resollo,
 Y por Muhamad tu siervo,
 Por su escojida anubua,
 Por sus santos mandamientos,
 Por la luz de su sepulcro,
 Y por sus diez compañeros,
 Por todos los anabies,
 Questa luz entretuvieron,
 Y los demas que sin ella
 Pudieron entretenello ; ¹
 Señor por todo lo dicho,
 Y mas lo que dezir puedo,
 De todos los almalaques
 Que adornan tus siete cielos,
 Por los que llevan tu alarx
 Sin darles pena su peso,
 Y por los quatro almalaques
 Que tienen mas nombramiento ;

Y por aquel grande amor
 Que anticipaste á tus siervos
 Por lo mucho que nos quieres,
 Y por el grande contento
 Que tienen los almalaques
 De nuestro aprovechamiento.
 Te demandamos tu ayuda,
 Tu perdon y tu remedio,
 Perdonanos Rey piadoso
 De aquello que te ofendemos,
 Mas á tí nada te ofende
 Que todo es en daño nuestro :
 Abe piedad de nosotros !
 Sacanos de tanto estrecho,
 Mira los grandes trabajos
 Que padecemos en estos reynos,
 Mira nuestra gran conduelma,
 Mira nuestro aflijimiento,
 Mira que no te serbimos
 Como serbirte debemos,
 Mira como nos persiguen,
 Mira quanto es nuestro miedo,
 Pues por temor de los hombres
 Tu servicio posponemos ;
 Y si nuestras grandes culpas
 Tal castigo merecieron,
 No lo paguen nuestros hijos
 Questan ygnorantes dellos :
 Mira Señor que se crian
 Sin luz ni conocimiento
 De tú que los has criado,
 Y les has de dar sustento :
 No permitas que se pierdan,
 Ten misericordia dellos,
 Y abe piedad de sus padres,
 Da pasada de sus yerros ;
 Y pues jamas se cerraron
 A ninguna ora ni tiempo
 De tu remedio las puertas,
 A los que abrir las quisieron :
 No se cierren á nosotros
 En este tan grande extremo,
 Traspasen nuestros clamores
 La gordeza de tus cielos.
 Señor oye los clamores
 Los sospiros y lamentos
 De aquellos que por tu Ley
 Padeçen tantos tormentos ;

¹ Variante : publica on tus preceptos.

Mira nuestra gran flaqueza,
 Nuestro poco sufrimiento ;
 Pues de tu ley nos deroga
 Un tormento tan pequeño.
 Si tu divina bondad
 No provee algun remedio,
 Nuestras fuerças desfallecen,
 Y son de poco momento.
 Señor como socorriste
 Los afijidos Hebreos,
 Y les diste libertad
 Dentre sus contrarios fieros,
 Como les pasaste el mar,
 A vivir en el desierto
 Y los pusiste en la tierra
 De tu grande ofrecimiento :
 Como dentre los Asirios

Les quitaste el cautiverio,
 Y sacudieron el yugo
 De la servitud y apremio,
 Nos la concede á nosotros
 Que oigamos para consuelo,
 Otra voz de claredad
 Como la que estos oyeron.
 Y si yo en algo he faltado
 O me alargué á mas de aquello
 Que mi facultad me daba,
 Por congraciár á mis versos ;
 Perdona mis ignorancias,
 Pues ya sabes mi deseo,
 Que dellas y de mis culpas
 A tu gran piedad me apelo.

EMIN.

TAMAT BIHAMDI YLAHI.¹

NOTE.

THE poem of Mohamed Rabadan, the Aragonese, has now been all published in the Journal. The Canto of the Death of Muhammad, and then the Canto of the Day of Judgment, which were published first in this Journal on account of their superior merit, have their proper place between the Canto of the Surat of Alhamdu or the Fatiha, and the Canto of the Months of the Year. The portion of Rabadan's poem now given is not equal in poetical merit to other portions which have preceded it, perhaps for the reason given by Rabadan himself of the difficulty of tying down the verse to historical exactness. The number of Arabic terms with which this portion of the poem is loaded have also made it less good in this respect than other parts of the poem. Some of these, such as *ydechea*, or "iza jâ," are rather difficult to recognize, and others, as *le ileha*, show the extent to which Arabic pronunciation had become modified amongst the Moriscoes. There was a misprint in the portion first published, which it may be as well to correct. In the account of the death of the Prophet, Rabadan says that just before his death, he repeated "that precious verse, Ikra bismi Rabika," and this was printed Y quera, bismi Rabica, Yquera or Ikra having been mistaken for the Spanish, "Y que era, and which was."

¹ Del MS. de Paris : Concluyó nor la gracia de Dios.

The tradition as given by Rabadan represents the Prophet as ending his life uttering the same Surat of the Koran, with which he began to preach his mission.

In the Canto of the Months of the Year, our poet expresses a wish that he had, amongst other talents of famous authors and learned men, "The speech of Catredada." I have been unable to ascertain who is meant by this name, the only suggestion that I can think of is Ibn al Kathir, one of seven masters of the science of reading the Koran.

A rather large piece relating to the marriage of Muhammad and Khadija, and which is not in the London MS., has been extracted from the MS. of Paris; this is perhaps more generally interesting than any other part of the poem in this number. This portion, however, more than any of what has been already published, shows that the Moriscoes had preserved the tenacity of memory and tradition of the Arabs, for it is singular how exactly, even as to words and expressions, Rabadan follows the Arab authorities, since he himself says that he had no books, as the Inquisition had caused them to be lost; and had this not been so, his condition as a cultivator of the soil would have prevented his having any large access to books.

It is a cause of satisfaction that the publication of the entire poem of Rabadan has now been concluded, and that a work of such merit should have been rescued from oblivion. Whatever opinion may be formed of Rabadan's place amongst the poets, or of the philological value of a work written by one of the Moriscoes at the date of their expulsion from Spain, or of its value as a criterion of the intellectual status of the Moriscoes, it will be admitted that the publication of this poem has been a very fitting and suitable task for the Asiatic Society, on account of the ideas contained in it.

Fragments of Morisco Spanish translations of the Koran have for some time been known to exist in Spain, and quite recently a complete translation has been discovered.

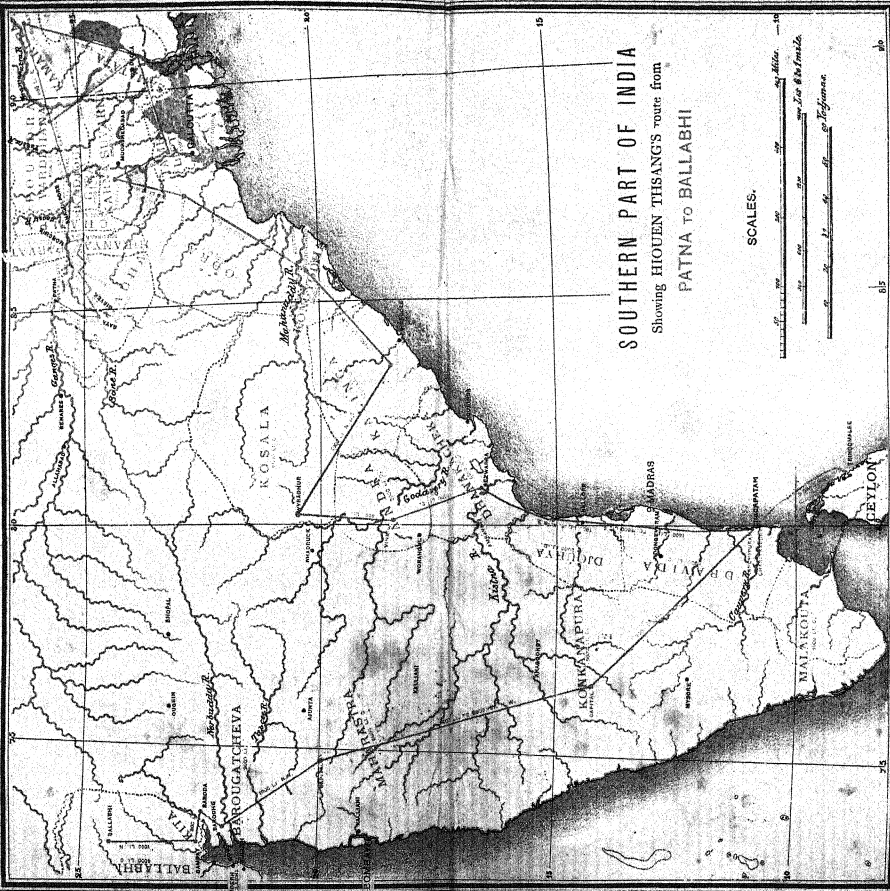
If a copy of this translation can be obtained, and if the Council of the Society think fit, it may be published later in the pages of this Journal.

SOUTHERN PART OF INDIA

Showing HIOUEN THSANG'S route from

PATNA TO BALLABHI

SCALES.



JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. IX.—*On Hiouen-Thsang's Journey from Patna to Ballabhi.* By JAMES FERGUSSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.

IN his *Life of Gaudama*, Bishop Bigandet remarks that “the voyages of two Chinese travellers, undertaken in the fifth and seventh centuries of our era, have done more to elucidate the history and geography of Buddhism in India than all that has hitherto been found in the Sanskrit and Pali books of India and the neighbouring countries.”¹ Feeling strongly impressed with the truth of this observation, I attempted, in a paper published in a recent volume² of this Journal, to utilize the scanty materials afforded by the Chinese travellers to settle some of the disputed points of Mediæval Indian chronology; and I now propose to examine a portion of the much more copious materials their works afford for determining the geography of India at the period it was visited by them.

On the present occasion, at least, I shall not attempt to go over the whole subject. It would require a volume as thick as that which General Cunningham has lately devoted to it to do justice to such an extended research; and in order to bring what I have to say within the limits of an article, I propose selecting the middle portion of Hiouen-Thsang's travels, as not only sufficient to show whether the principles of criticism I

¹ *Life of Gaudama*, 1868, p. 291.

² Vol. IV. (N.S.), pp. 81-137.

adopt are correct, but as determining the position of a great many places of very considerable interest to the geography of our own provinces.

I may also mention, before going further, that in order to simplify what I have to say, I have not attempted to follow Fa-Hian¹ in his travels through part of this district, and have only mentioned him when he comes in contact with Hiouen-Thsang's route, and when his experiences serve to elucidate the travels which are the main object of this paper. As a rule his accuracy as a geographer is far inferior to that of Hiouen-Thsang; and especially when long distances are concerned, his measurements are untrustworthy to an extent never found in those of his successor. For short distances, however, or local descriptions, his determinations are sometimes quite equal to anything to be found in the works we are especially concerned with.

In order also to limit the extent of this paper as much as possible, I have confined myself strictly to geographical details, and these only,—omitting all historical and mythological allusions which did not bear directly on the main purpose of this investigation.

At first sight it may appear like a work of supererogation, going over the ground again, as the whole subject has already been investigated by two men so well qualified to the task as M. Vivien de St.-Martin and General Cunningham. The first named, who is well known and esteemed for his various works on geography, with the collaboration of M. Stanislas Julien, the translator, appended a "Mémoire Analytique" to Hiouen-Thsang's great work published in 1858,² in which he follows the traveller from the time he left China till his return home, and fixes many points with considerable precision.

General Cunningham's attention has long been directed to

¹ *Fo-hi-kou-ki*. Translated by Abel Rémusat. 4to. Paris, 1836. *Travels of Fa-hian and Sung-Yun*. Translated by the Rev. S. Beal. London, 1869.

² *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales traduites du Sanscrit en Chinois l'an 648, par Hiouen-Thsang, etc.* This work in the text I propose to call by the Chinese name *Si-yu-ki*, in order to distinguish it from "La vie de Hiouen-Thsang par Hœi-li," translated also by M. Stanislas Julien, and published in 1853.

the same subject, and during the four years 1861-64, in which he held the appointment of Archæological Surveyor of India, he travelled over the greater part of the countries traversed by Hiouen-Thsang, and visited most of the places mentioned by him in Northern India.¹ With such local knowledge and advantages, it might be supposed that so practised an archæologist as the General undoubtedly is, would leave few gleanings for those that came after him; but the results I have arrived at lead me to believe that the subject is by no means exhausted. The truth appearing to be, that we have followed two totally different systems in attempting to extract correct determinations from the brief descriptions of our traveller; and the question I really wish to put before the Society is, to determine which system leads to the most satisfactory results.

The mode of proceeding adopted by my predecessors may generally be described as trying to ascertain, by a careful and critical examination of existing maps, aided by local knowledge, where they suppose the place was which is mentioned by the traveller; and when that is found, neither of them hesitate to alter the text of their author, both as to direction and distance, in order that it may conform with this predetermined conclusion.

The system I have adopted is different from this. I have in all instances adhered literally to the statements in the Chinese works as presented to me.² I have not in a single instance found it necessary to alter the texts beyond certain well defined and easily understood limits presently to be pointed out. By following this course I have been led occasionally to determinations which are

¹ The results of these researches were first published in four annual reports which General Cunningham sent to the Government of India, and were printed as they came to hand. The results were afterwards embodied by him in a work on the Ancient Geography of India, published by Trübner & Co., in 1871, which, as his maturest and last work, is the one that will be principally quoted from in the following pages.

² In order that there may be no mistake whether I am quoting literally or merely giving the sense of a passage, I have in all instances where the former was intended quoted the original French of the text. By doing this, I have also, I hope, avoided any difficulty that might arise as to the correct interpretation of any passage in the original.

not sanctioned by the names now found in Indian maps, but the result on the whole is so consistent and complete, that my impression is that it is the only safe system to follow. As, however, the conclusions it leads to are so widely divergent from those of my predecessors, I propose, in the following pages, to place their determinations side by side with my own, in order to give others a fair opportunity of judging between us. If my system is found to work well, it will be easy to apply it to the two remaining portions of Hiouen-Thsang's travels. The first portion—namely, from the time of his entering the Caubul valley till he crosses the Ganges at Patna and enters Magadha—will, I fancy, be found easy, not only from his having traversed portions of it, both in coming and going, but also from the number of well-known places he visited, and the minute descriptions he gives of them. But if I am not very much mistaken, it requires re-examination quite as much as the middle portion, with which only we are at present concerned.

The latter portion, which extends from the time he left Ballabhi till he returned to Nalanda, is more difficult. The journeys are longer, the descriptions shorter and less distinct, and the number of known sites far fewer than in the first portion. Besides this, it seems clear that he did not visit himself all the places he mentions, or at least not in the sequence in which they are entered in the works we possess. Notwithstanding all this, I feel convinced that great light would be thrown on the geography of Central India were this portion of his travels carefully re-investigated.

Putting these two parts of his journeys aside for the present, I propose to follow Hiouen-Thsang stage by stage from Patna eastward to Kamarupa, and then southward to Kanchipuram, where he turned northward, and for the present shall part with him at Ballabhi. Such a journey, extending over upwards of 3000 miles, is quite sufficient to test his accuracy and the correctness of the principles on which we are proceeding, and traverses also so considerable a portion of the continent of India, that the results to be obtained from fixing its geographical features in the seventh century are so

important—if satisfactory—as well to reward any pains that may be bestowed upon them.

I cannot, of course, flatter myself that I have settled all the points in dispute, even in this limited portion of the travels of the Chinese pilgrims. I feel confident, however, that many that were before uncertain will not again be disturbed; but it is also only too apparent that many places will require personal examination and more local knowledge than is now available, before their position can be fixed with certainty. It is, however, a gain to geographical knowledge if we can limit the number of these, and point out to persons on the spot which those are that require this further investigation.

Before proceeding to details, it is necessary to say a few words with regard to the measures found in the text. That generally employed by Hiouen-Thsang is the *li*, which, according to the Père Gaubil, is equal to 1080 English feet,¹ and consequently 4.88 *li* are equal to one English mile—in round numbers say 5. As, however, owing to the sinuosities of the road and other circumstances, the traveller can hardly ever have gone mathematically straight, General Cunningham adopts 6 *li* as the average length of a mile as measured on the map. In this he is probably quite correct; but where, it appears to me, he makes a mistake, is, that he invariably uses 6 as a divisor, without reference to the nature of the country through which the traveller is passing. My impression is that where the country is perfectly open and cultivated, and where there is reason to believe a road may have existed between two points, it would be fair to use 5 as a divisor, thus making 100 *li* 20 miles, instead of 16⅔ as he always does. Where, on the contrary, the Pilgrim describes the country as “difficile,” hilly or jungly, we may safely, I fancy, employ 7 or even more as a divisor when placing his route on the map.

Another source of error arises from Hiouen-Thsang in nine cases out of ten employing round numbers, 100, 500, 1000, 1500, and so on. While this is so, it is evident the

¹ 329 mètres, Si-yu-ki ii. 258.

first may be 90 and even less, or 110 and even more. It may be of course exactly correct, but that it should be so in some hundreds of cases is almost impossible, and we may safely, when necessary, allow a certain margin—say 10 per cent. either way—on this account.¹

The other measure employed by the Pilgrims is the *yôdjana*. It is very rarely used by Hiouen-Thsang, but generally adopted by Fa-Hian. We have no mathematical determination of its length, but our author himself states (ii. 59) that "according to the ancient tradition, a *yôdjana* is equal to 40 *li*, but that according to the custom of the Indian kingdom, it is equal to 30 *li*." As there can be no doubt, after this statement, that he employed this last equivalent, we may assume that throughout his work he considers the *yôdjana* as equal to 32,400 feet (1080×30), or as 6 miles and 1 furlong nearly. As, however, no roads are quite straight, we may safely reject the fraction in all cases, and use 6 miles as the equivalent, of course with the same limitations as pointed out in speaking of *lis*, with this further reserve. When either of the Pilgrims states that a place is one *yôdjana* distant from another, it is extremely improbable that they should be exactly 6 miles apart, and as neither ever uses fractions, it only means that the distance is more than 3, and less than 9 miles. In like manner 2 *yôdjanas* means more than 9, and less than 15; and 3 may stand either for 15 or 21, or any intermediate number.

¹ In a paper on the Central Asian portion of Hiouen-Thsang's travels by Colonel Yule, which appeared in the last number of this *Journal* (pp. 92—120), I observe that the author considers the expression 100 *li* as meaning only "a day's journey." Had Colonel Yule followed the traveller's route through Bengal with the same care he has shown in examining his routes in Central Asia, I feel convinced he would have modified this statement. He would there have found distances, which are quoted in the following pages, of 3, 4, 5, or 10, 20, 30 *li*; longer distances are quoted, as "1400 to 1500" (*Vie*, p. 185), or as "2400 to 2500" (*Vie*, p. 202); and frequently the word "environ" is used by the Pilgrim in speaking of distances he himself travelled over,—all clearly showing, I think, that he spoke of *lis* as we speak of miles. Besides this, 100 *li*, or 20 miles, in a country where there were no roads, must be more nearly two days' journey than one. Of course, when our traveller speaks of the boundaries of countries he never perambulated, and routes he never traversed, his measurements must be received with the utmost caution as mere hearsay statements; and Colonel Yule may probably be correct in this, if he intends to limit his valuations only to such vague estimates of untraversed distances. But this has, I conceive, no bearing whatever on his statements regarding routes he travelled over himself, on which alone reliance is placed in the following pages.

Another source of uncertainty, which it is always necessary to bear in mind, arises from the fact that the compass of the Chinese pilgrim has only 8 points. A place is either N., S., E., W. from another, or it is N.E., N.W., S.E., S.W. The points consequently are always 45 degrees apart; and even supposing the traveller knew with absolute precision that a place was 22 degrees N. or S. of E., he would be correct in describing it as E. If it were 23 degrees either way, it ought of course to be N.E. or S.E.; but as we have no reason to believe that they had any other means of ascertaining their direction than by the general appearance of the position of the heavenly bodies, it is impossible to expect any great degree of precision in this respect. This, however, is quite certain, that when they say E. or W., they never mean N. or S., or *vice versa*; and if they do say so, it may be put down as an error in the text. On the whole, however, it is marvellous how accurate Hiouen-Tsang is in this respect, and extremely difficult to understand how he arrived at such precision without better means of observation or better maps than we have reason to believe then existed.

The great cause, however, of uncertainty or error in following the route of the Chinese travellers arises from the proper names of places which they employ. To a certain extent this is caused by Hiouen-Tsang, for instance, having to translate Sanskrit names into Chinese, and M. Stanislas Julien having to translate them back from the Chinese into their Sanskrit originals. This, however, he has done so successfully, that though it sometimes is a cause of uncertainty, it rarely, when grappled with, leads to error. A far more pregnant cause of difficulty arises from the fact that Indian cities, like Indian kings, frequently bore many aliases. As Sir Henry Maine well observes,¹ "Great deserted cities often in close proximity to one another"—and he might have added each bearing a different name—"are among the most inexplicable of Indian spectacles." What was the town or name of one century is not that of the next or of the preceding; and when from any cause a community

¹ Village Communities in the East and West, p. 119.

migrates from one site to another at some distance off, they sometimes—as we shall have to point out in the sequel—take the name of their original seat with them.

Another cause of uncertainty in the route we have chosen for our illustration arises from the ever-shifting nature of the land in the neighbourhood of the Ganges, and especially in Eastern Bengal. Even Rennell's maps, made in the end of the last century, are now perfectly useless for our purposes; and if such changes as they bring out could take place in 100 years, what may we not expect in the 1200 that have elapsed since the Si-yu-ki was compiled?

A third and still more obvious cause of difficulty in this respect arises from the fact that it is only in the rarest possible instances that our travellers mention the names of the capital cities they visited. In nine cases at least out of ten, the name given is that of the country or kingdom, while it by no means follows that this is that of the capital. Indeed, as a rule, it is only in small districts or townships that the name of the capital is the same as that of the country. In kingdoms or large countries this identity is exceptional. It is as if a Chinese traveller had visited and mentioned by name England, Scotland, and Ireland, and we were to strain our eyes to discover these names attached to cities in our maps. If he visited Northumberland, Durham, or Yorkshire, the name of the district might or might not suggest that of the capital; but in all instances, unless our author expressly mentions the name of the capital, or unless we have some reason for believing that the names of the capital and the country were the same, these nominal similarities are much more likely to lead us astray than to point out the localities our pilgrims visited.

From these causes it is very rarely that we find the names mentioned by Hiouen-Thsang on our present maps, or anything like them, even when, from the bearings and distance, we are able to fix the locality with almost absolute certainty. When we do find the names agreeing, it is of course a very satisfactory confirmation of our views; but in no instance can I conceive that a nominal discrepancy or

deficiency should be considered as decisive either for or against any particular locality being the one visited by our author.

Notwithstanding these apparent sources of error, I hope to be able to show in the following pages that there is not a single stage in the Pilgrim's progress that cannot be fixed with very considerable certainty. Except within the limits of deviation for bearings and distances pointed out above, and which are obviously inherent in the subject from its very nature, I have not found it necessary to suggest a single alteration in the text of my author. Not that I mean to say that the text is absolutely free from error. There are occasional discrepancies between the Si-yu-ki and the Hoei-li, which prove that one or other of them must be wrong; but as it happens—at least in the part of the journey which we have selected—that we are in all instances able to discover how the discrepancy arose, and to correct the one from the other, this is no cause of uncertainty for the present.

Patna to Gaya.¹

I shall dwell a little more in detail on the first journey on which we shall have to accompany the Pilgrim than it will be necessary to do in future, because it illustrates the above preliminary remarks to a greater extent than any subsequent stage in his progress. It ought to be one of the simplest and easiest. The termini are perfectly well known. The distance between them 62 miles in a direction slightly to the west of south. The country then, as now, a richly cultivated plain, and the road unobstructed by hills or large watercourses or forests.

General Cunningham's account of this journey is as follows:² "On leaving Pataliputra, the Chinese Pilgrim started from the S.W. corner of the city, and proceeded for 100 *li*, or 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ miles, to the south-west, to the Monastery *Ti-lo-shi-kia* or *Ti-lo-tse-kia* (Tiladaka), from whence he continued his route in the same direction for 90 *li*, or 15 miles, to a lofty

¹ Si-yu-ki, i., pp. 439-456. Hoei-li, p. 139.

² Ancient Geography of India, pp. 455, 456.

mountain, from the summit of which Buddha had contemplated the kingdom of Magadha. He then turned to the north-west, for 30 *li*, or 5 miles, to visit a large monastery on the slope of a hill where Gunamati had worsted a heretic in argument. Then resuming his S.W. route for 20 *li*, or 3½ miles, he visited an isolated hill, and the monastery of Silabhadra; and continuing in the same direction for 40 or 50 *li*, 7 or 8 miles, he crossed the river Nairanjan, and entered the town of Gaya.

"Before attempting," he adds, "to identify any of the places noted on the route, I must observe that there are several errors, both in the bearings and distances, that require to be corrected. As the direction of Gaya is very nearly due south of Patna, the several S.W. bearings must certainly be altered to South. The several distances also, when added together, amount to 230 *li*, or 38 miles, while the actual distance between the cities of Patna and Gaya is 60 miles by the high road, and must have been about 70 by the road followed by Hwen-Thsang. The sum of his distances is therefore above 200 *li*, or 33 miles, short of the actual distance travelled. This amount I would divide into two even sums of 100 *li*, and add one to each of the first two distances recorded by the Pilgrim."

The first remark I would make on this statement is that the General's distances, if added up, make 280 or 290 *li*, and consequently 46·6 or 48·3 miles, instead of 38, as he states; but even then, as this is short of what is required, there is evidently an error somewhere, for which he was justified in proposing a remedy: but it certainly is a very strong measure to suggest two equal errors of 100 *li* each, in two consecutive stages of so simple a journey. The motive of this is evident: by so doing he takes the Pilgrim to Tillāra, which sounds something like Tilāḍaka, which he persists in calling this monastery, though M. Julien calls it Tilāḍakya. And, again, to alter arbitrarily all the S.W. bearings to South could only be justified by the most manifest impossibilities of there being other modes of reconciling the facts. One thing at all events is evident, that if Hiouen-Thsang's text is so corrupt as to

require such manipulation in so short a distance, it is no use going further with it, for no satisfactory conclusion can possibly be arrived at from it.

We naturally turn therefore to the earlier commentator, to see how he reconciles these discrepancies. At page 373 of the *Mémoire Analytique* we find the following table:—

De Pataliputra à un Vihâra ruiné au sud-ouest	200 li.
De ce couvent au Vihâra Tilaçâkya au sud-ouest	100 „
A une grande montagne au sud-ouest	90 „
Au Couvent de Gounamati au nord-ouest	30 „
Au Couvent de Çilabhadra bati sur une montagne au S.O.	20 „
A la ville de Gaya, après avoir passé la rivière Nairanjana, au sud-ouest	40 à 50 li.
	<hr/> 480 à 490
Or	80 to 82 miles.

And he proceeds to remark that the monasteries of Tilaçakya and Çilabhadra probably represent Thélari and Bhadéra of Rennell's map, which is possible if Hiouen-Tsang had been travelling S.E. instead of S.W., and if the distances had been correctly reported. The real difficulty is where M. de St.-Martin got the 200 li at the head of the table. Turning to the Si-yu-ki, we find the following words (p. 439), "A environ deux cents *pas* de l'angle sud-ouest de la ville, on voit les restes des fondements d'un couvent," etc.; and then "au sud-ouest de l'ancien couvent il fit environ 100 li, et arriva au couvent de Tilaçâkya."

At first sight one might be inclined to accept this explanation. It is possible that if we had the original Chinese before us, we might find li written instead of paces, were it not that when men are making a journey of 30 or 40 miles, they do not reckon from a particular angle of a city they are leaving, especially when they are quoting distances in round numbers; but when a building is close to the city, it is natural to state what angle or what gateway it may be near, in order that it may be recognized. The truth of the matter is, it is an oversight—a mislection on the part of M. de St.-Martin; and does not consequently help us in our difficulties. Though, as there evidently is an error somewhere in the account of this journey in the Si-yu-ki, we might

accept this provisionally till some better explanation were obtained, had there been no other means of solving the difficulty.

As, however, the last-named author, by a lucky accident, got over the chief difficulty of the passage in question, it is no wonder he did not look further; but it is remarkable that General Cunningham, being fully aware of the discrepancies, neither referred to his predecessor nor to the Hoei-li to see if they could throw any light on the matter. Had he referred to the latter, he would have found the following passage (p. 139), "Après avoir adoré pendant sept jours tous ces monumens sacrés ("de Pātālipoutra poura"), il fit au sud-ouest sept *yôdjanas*, et arriva au couvent de Tilāçākya." "De là, il fit cent *li* au sud, et arriva à l'endroit où s'élevait l'arbre de l'intelligence (Bôddhidrouma)."

The first distance mathematically is 43 miles, but with a slight allowance for the road not being straight, 40 miles, which is the exact distance on the map of the Barabar hills, in which the celebrated caves are situated, the oldest rock-cut Vihāras, so far as we know, in India. The direction is South 18° West, which, though not absolutely correct, is within the limits of deviation above stated; and, lastly, these hills are due north, and just 100 *li*, or 20 miles, from Buddh Gaya, where the tree is found. There is a third bearing which General Cunningham points out, but on which I do not place much reliance. Some seven years after this time, on his return to Nalanda, Hoei-li relates his visit to the Convent of Tilāṭaka (Ti-lo-tse-kia) (p. 211) instead of Ti-lo-chi-kia (p. 139). They may be the same, but I doubt it, and know no other instance of the same name being spelt differently in the same volume. Admitting, however, that they are identical, the hills are exactly 22 miles West by South from Nalanda, so that this, though stretching a little the three *yôdjanas* of the text, would rather be a confirmation than otherwise. Be this, however, as it may, I conceive that the distance and direction which Hoei-li says the Pilgrim travelled from Patna to Barabar, and the distance and direction of Buddh Gaya, quite sufficient to prove that this was the place visited. When there he uses an expression which is curiously sug-

gestive. The convent was poor and decayed, there were only "quelques dizaines de religieux qui ayant appris l'arrivée du Maître de la loi, vinrent tous à sa rencontre et lui servirent des guides," we may add, to visit the caves and other antiquities of the place, which, according to General Cunningham's own description, were both numerous and important.¹ Unfortunately our traveller does not describe them. To us they are extremely interesting in an archæological point of view, but there was no legend attached to them, they were not the residences of Buddha or any of his immediate followers, and he consequently passes them by, as he does other groups of caves he must have seen or been in the neighbourhood of, in the most contemptuous manner.

The subsequent stages in this journey enumerated above bring out a point which it is necessary to bear in mind, in order to explain the differences that sometimes occur between our two authorities. Hoei-li, writing the life of Hiouen-Tsang, only enumerates the journeys he took himself. The Si-yu-ki, being a description of India, often enumerates places he never visited personally. In this instance, as in most cases, we are warned of this by the substitution of "on" for "il." Thus (p. 440) it is said, "A environ 90 *li* au sud-ouest du couvent de Tilāçākya, *on* arrive à une grande montagne," etc. And so with the next stage. At the third, the expression is, "Le voyageur arrive." All showing incontestably that none of these places were visited by the Pilgrim himself. It is consequently needless to attempt to follow him; and in fact there are no great mountains where this route and distance would place them. I believe there would be no great difficulty in pointing out what places were intended, and think I could do so myself, but it must be done at the expense of disregarding to a great extent the hearsay accounts which our author retails of places he never saw himself. As we are at present only trying to investigate the routes which Hiouen-Tsang himself traversed, such inquiries can have no place here.

¹ Report to Government, 1861-2, pages 16 to 21. At page 20, General Cunningham twice expresses his astonishment that Hiouen-Tsang should not have visited these caves. His attention being therefore drawn to the subject, it is curious he should have overlooked these facts.

Buddh Gaya to Nalanda.

Once settled at Gaya, the Pilgrim set himself assiduously to visit all the consecrated spots that cluster around that sacred city of the Buddhists; and his descriptions and directions are so minute and detailed that, when combined with those of Fa-Hian, I have no doubt that every locality can be determined with certainty and precision. The distances, however, are generally so short, and the latitude that must, as mentioned above, be allowed for compass bearings so great, that the task can only be attempted by some one on the spot possessing minute local knowledge. Indeed, without much more detailed maps than are at present available, it is impossible to express an opinion whether the determinations which have already been published are correct or otherwise; and I shall not therefore attempt to follow them, especially as it is of very little consequence for our present purposes. They are important from a religious point of view, but not geographically; and though consequently it would be interesting to those tracing out the history of the Buddhist religion that they should be definitively settled, this does not bear directly on our present investigation. I propose therefore to follow the example of Hiouen-Thsang himself, and go straight from Buddh Gaya to Nalanda, without turning to the right or left, or stopping to look at any of the antiquities on the way, reserving that, as he did,¹ for another occasion if it should ever occur.

Although nothing at all resembling the name is to be found on any map ancient or modern, and no trace of a tradition of what the place once was exists among the present inhabitants of Behar,² the site of the once famous monastery of Nalanda is now as well known as that of Patna, Gaya, or almost any city in Bengal. Kittoe was, I believe, the first to suggest that the Nalo of Fa-Hian might be Nalanda; but as Hiouen-Thsang's Travels were not then trans-

¹ Hœi-li, p. 143.

² *Vide* Buchanan Hamilton's account of this place in Eastern India, vol. i., p. 95.

lated, he did so timidly, and without being able to prove it.¹ Vivien de St.-Martin fixes it without hesitation at Baragaon, 7 miles north of Rājagriha,² and the subsequent researches of Cunningham³ and Broadley⁴ have settled the matter beyond all shadow of doubt.

Hoei-li reports the distance between these two places to be seven *yōdjanas*, or the same as between Patna and the Tilaçākya monastery; and it is satisfactory to find that both measure exactly 40 miles on the sheets of the India atlas. As, owing to the intervention of the hills, the road in the second instance could hardly have been so straight as in the first, it is probable the latter route absorbed the 4 or 5 miles it was mathematically entitled to; but the two being practically identical, shows that these are no random measurements, but based on some sound geographical data.

During his five years' residence (Hoei-li, p. 171) at Nalanda, Hiouen-Thsang visited Old and New Rajagriha, and all the sacred spots that crowd around them. So minute are his descriptions, that, combined as before with those of Fa-Hian, it is quite certain that every one of them may be identified with certainty, perhaps have been; but, like those of Buddh Gaya, they are not geographical, and do not consequently come properly within the scope of this paper. New Rajagriha is perfectly well known, and is marked on all our maps; and the old city, the capital of Adjatasatra in the time of Sakya Muni, is easily distinguishable by its circle of five hills, which are minutely described by both the Chinese travellers.⁵ Only one point regarding it seems worth mentioning here with reference to what we shall meet with further on. The original name of the city was Kousoumapoura; but when either Bimbisāra or Asoka—it is not clear which—transferred the capital to the banks of the Ganges, on their being sufficiently consolidated to admit of this being done, he transferred the name also⁶ to a city

¹ J.A.S.B., 1847, p. 956.

² Si-yu-ki, ii., p. 382.

³ Ancient Geography, p. 468.

⁴ Ruins of the Nalanda Monastery, by A. M. Broadley, Esq. Calcutta, 1872.

⁵ Fa-Hian, chap. xxviii. Hoei-li, p. 153. Si-yu-ki, ii., p. 28 et seqq.

⁶ Si-yu-ki, i., p. 413. Hoei-li, p. 153.

which, either before or since, was known by the name of "Patalipouttra poura," or "ville du fils de l'arbre Po-tch'a-li," whatever that may mean. The fact, however, that concerns us here is, that in the same province we have two capitals bearing the same name, and though of course the one was meant, and probably at one time did supersede the other, throughout the Chinese travels it is the old town that generally retains the name, though it certainly was later applied to Patna, both by Buddhist and Brahmanical authorities.¹

Nalanda to Hiranyaparvata.²

Although as usual there is nothing in this name to indicate it, there seems no doubt but that Monghir was the name of the capital of the kingdom of Hiranyaparvata. Both M. de St.-Martin and General Cunningham are agreed on this point, and I see no reason for doubting that they are correct, though I differ from them at every stage of the route—except the first—by which the Pilgrim reached this place.

Leaving Nalanda, he makes the following short stages (p. 51 et seq.):—

To Koulika, the native place of Moudgalaputra.....	8 to 9 li, S.W.
To Stupa of Bimbisāra.....	3 to 4 li, E.
To Kalapinaka, the birthplace of Sariputra	20 li, S.E.
To Stupa of Sariputra's disciple.....	4 to 5 li, S.E.
To Indrasilaguhā	30 li, E.

If these distances with the directions indicated are protracted on the sheets of the Indian Atlas, they lead inevitably to that remarkable group of hills which terminates the range extending from Gaya to the river Panchana, in a north-easterly direction. Hiouen-Tsang's description is so detailed that General Cunningham had no difficulty in fixing the position of every place mentioned, and identifying Indrasilaguhā with Giryäk, which is the spot to which the above bearings and distances conduct us. "Les cavernes (he says, page 58) et les vallées de cette montagne sont ténébreuses; des bois fleuris la couvrent d'une riche végétation. Sur le passage supérieur de cette montagne s'élèvent deux pics isolés.

¹ Foë-kouë-ki, p. 259. Ancient Geography, p. 453.

² Si-yu-ki, ii., pp. 51-64. Hoei-li, pp. 161-175.

Dans une caverne du pic méridional il y a une grande maison, taillée dans le roc, elle est large et basse. Jadis le Tathâgatha s'y arrêta. A cette époque le roi des dieux (Çakra Dêvendra) écrivit sur une pierre quarante-deux questions difficiles, et en demanda la solution." "Le Bouddha les expliqua en sa faveur. On aperçoit encore sur la pierre des traces d'écriture." "Sur le passage supérieur de la montagne on voit un endroit où se sont assis les quatre Bouddhas passés." "Sur le pic oriental il y a un couvent." "Devant le couvent qui s'élève sur le pic oriental de la montagne, il y a un Stoûpa," etc. All these features can still be traced, and I have quoted them not only as showing what materials exist for identifying the spot, but for their bearing on a curious question that arises from Fa-Hian's travels. In chapter xxviii. he says, "From this city (Patna), proceeding in a south-easterly direction nine *yôjanas*, we arrive at a small rocky hill standing by itself, on the top of which is a stone cell ("une maison de pierre," Fœ-kouë-ki) facing the south. On one occasion, when Buddha was sitting in the middle of this cell, the Divine Sekra proposed forty-two questions to Buddha, writing each one of them singly with his finger upon a stone. The traces of these questions yet exist." ¹

From these extracts it seems quite evident that the small rocky hill, with its little stone cell, which Fa-Hian visited, was a very different place from the lofty double-peaked mountain of Hiouen-Thsang, with its great natural cavern, and was in fact the rock of Behar. This is described by Buchanan Hamilton in the following terms. "At Behar an exceeding rugged rock projects from the plain, but all the remaining country is level, and the southern part inundated." ²

General Cunningham's description is equally distinct. "To the north-west of the city" (of Behar), he says, "there is a long isolated hill, having a precipitously steep cliff on its northern face, and on the southern face an easy slope in

¹ Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun. Translated by the Rev. S. Beal. London, 1869. pp. 110, 111.

² Montgomery Martin's Reprint, vol. i., p. 85.

successive ledges of rock. The hill is now covered by some Musulmân buildings, etc.”¹

These evidently now occupy the site of Fa-Hian's cell facing the south, as, from the whole tenor of the description, it can hardly be doubted that this is the place he describes. The direction from Patna is correct enough, but the distance is excessive. In reality it is only 34 miles as the crow flies, but he makes it 9 *yôdjanas*, or 54 miles, if we use the same multiplier as for Hiouen-Thsang. I am inclined to think that 5 miles, or even less, must frequently be taken to represent a *yôdjana* of this traveller, and unfortunately even then we can never depend on his long distances, as we can on those of his successor. Even if all this were not sufficient, the next two journeys he made are sufficient to show that Behar was the place intended. From thence he went one *yôdjana* south-west to the village of Nalo, which he makes the birthplace of Sariputra; and again, “going west from this one *yôdjana*, we arrive at the New Rajagriha.”

If Nalo is Nalanda, as is generally supposed,² there is an end of the question; it is situated between six and seven miles south-west from Behar. But if this is so, there are two errors in Fa-Hian's statement. Nalanda was not the birthplace of Sariputra, but some place 3 or 4 miles to the southward of it; and Rajagriha is not west, but due south from Nalanda, though the distance—one *yôdjana*—is correct enough. But there is another way of looking at it. The distance from Behar to Rajagriha is 12 miles, and the direction south-westerly, and we may assume that he went, say, 8 miles to Sariputra's Stupa, and followed the same or a more westerly direction for 4 miles more to Rajagriha. The latter appears to me the most probable solution of the difficulty. I cannot understand any man calling the glorious Nalanda a village, and for reasons given in my previous paper,³ I feel convinced that before the beginning of the fifth century, it was then in all its glory. Nor can I believe that had he gone there he

¹ Report to Government, 1861-2, p. 14.

² Kittoe, *loc. cit.* Vivien de St.-Martin. Si-yu-ki, ii., p. 382. Cunningham, p. 469.

³ J.R.A.S. Vol. IV. (n.s.), p. 116.

would not also have visited the birthplace of Mogałāna. There may have been fifty personal reasons why he should pass by Nalanda without visiting it, but none that I can suggest, why, if he did go there, he should speak of it as he did. Be this as it may, I fancy it is quite certain that Behar was the site of the "*petite montagne du rocher isolé*," and that he travelled generally in a south-westerly direction from it to Rajagriha. It seems equally certain that during the two centuries and a half which had elapsed between his time and Hiouen-Thsang's, the tradition of the forty-two questions had got transferred from the northern to the more southern locality.

This description of Fa-Hian's route rises to a certainty when we follow him a little further. Leaving New Rajagriha, he enters the valley to the south, visits the old town, and at 15 *li* from it describes the hill Gridhrakūṭa, "three *li* from the top is a stone cavern facing the south. Buddha used in this place to sit in profound meditation." "In front of the cave are spots where each of the four Buddhas sat," etc.¹ In fact, as General Cunningham adds, "Both the Pilgrims mention the cave on the southern face of the mountain, which corresponds exactly with the natural cavern Gidha-dwar, which I have already described." But he fails to remark that Fa-Hian had made three journeys between the small isolated hill where the forty-two questions were solved, and this Vulture-cave or Indra Sila Guha.²

So far, therefore, there is no discrepancy between the routes of the two Pilgrims. Whichever hypothesis we follow with respect to the identification of Fa-Hian's Nalo with Nalanda, there is certainly no doubt about Hiouen-Thsang's

¹ Beal, Fa-Hian, pp. 114-115. Ancient Geography, p. 473.

² In a paper communicated to the "Indian Antiquary" (No. i., p. 18, et seqq.), Mr. Broadley clearly enough perceives General Cunningham's mistake in this matter, and points out that Fa-Hian's "isolated rock" was that in the town of Behar. But, curiously enough, he quotes the distance from Patna (9 *yōdjanas*) as 54 miles, and therefore quite correct. The real distance is 33 or 34, and this was General Cunningham's principal reason for taking it to Giryēk. Mr. Broadley also states (p. 19) the exact distance from Baragaon to Giryēk at 6 miles. It is more than 9. Notwithstanding these mistakes, he is right on the main point, though he fails to perceive all the discrepancies between his and Cunningham's determinations which his correction involves.

route between Nalanda and Gridwara cave, where they again meet. The one apparent difference is that in the beginning of the fifth century, the tradition of the forty-two questions was attached to the structural cell on the Behar rock. In the middle of the seventh century, it had got transferred to the Giryëk hill. If, as Fa-Hian says, "each one of them was written singly with his finger on a stone," their transference could be a matter of no great difficulty.

Though all this may now be clear enough, as a general rule Fa-Hian's bearings and distances are so little to be depended upon, that it is with pleasure we turn back to his more accurate successor, and follow him in his Eastern travels. Leaving Giryëk (p. 61), "*Au nord-est de la montagne Indraçila gouha, il fit 150 à 160 li, et arriva à un couvent appelé Kapôtika Sanghârâma*"—and he then goes on to say, "*à deux ou trois li au midi du couvent de la Colombe (Kapôtika Sanghârâma), on arrive à une montagne isolée, qui est extrêmement haute, et qu'ombrage une épaisse forêt. Des fleurs renommées couvrent ses bords et des sources d'eau pure se précipitent dans la vallée. Sur cette montagne il y a une multitude de Vihâras et des Temples divins. Dans un Vihâra placé juste au centre, on voit la statue de Avalôkitêçvara,*" etc.

This evidently is a very different place from the isolated rock at Behar, as described above; but fortunately, at the distance ranging from 19 to 25 miles north-east from Giryëk, there is a range of hills called the Sheikhpoura hills, which answer this description in the minutest particulars, and as both the distance and direction are absolutely correct, there can be no doubt that they are those described by the Pilgrim. From the statue above mentioned, he proceeds 40 li, 6½ miles, to a nameless convent situated on the plain,¹ but as we have neither name nor local feature, its exact position can only be ascertained by its bearing from this and the next place he visited. In the text it is said, "*au nord-est du couvent il fit environ 70 li; puis au midi du fleuve Gange, il arriva à un grand village.*" "*A une petite distance au sud-est de cet endroit il y avoit un grand stoûpa,*" etc.

¹ General Cunningham says "on an isolated hill," p. 472, but this is a mistake.

From this it is evident we have arrived at the great southern bend of the river near Luckiserai, and for the present at least I am inclined to fix this place there, as, in a private letter to Mr. Thomas, General Cunningham states that he has found numerous ruins close to the railway station in that village. The bearing and distance accord perfectly with the situation of the nameless convent, but till that is fixed, if it ever can be, by its ruins being found, the last station may be moved a few miles either way, if any sufficient indications are found to render this necessary.

The next journey is described in a manner that leaves no doubt as to its direction—"En partant de ce pays il entra à l'est dans des forêts et des gorges des montagnes, fit environ 100 *li*, et arriva à un couvent du village Rôhinila." "A deux ou trois *li* au nord de ce monument (a Stupa just described), on rencontre un grand lac, qui a environ 30 *li* de tour" (p. 64). From this description there can be no doubt that Rohinila was situated among the Kuruckpoor hills, which rise from the plain immediately to the eastward of the Luckiserai village, though we have nothing but the distance and bearing to guide us in fixing its position with exactness. There is a cold spring in the hills marked on the Indian Atlas sheets about 17 miles east from Luckiserai, and a hot spring about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles further south, either of which is a likely enough locality, but no lake. Lakes indeed are about the rarest features in Indian geography. It may have silted up in 1200 years, or it may have been artificial, and then if the bund broke it would disappear; but I feel convinced that if looked for, traces of it would be found.

One more journey concludes this section—"A l'est de ce lac, il entra dans des forêts et des gorges de grandes montagnes, fit environ deux cent *li*, et arriva au royaume de Hiranyaparvata." At first sight it might appear as if it was intended to say that he went 200 *li* to the eastward of the lake. The expression, however, is not the usual one, as quoted in the previous and other journeys, and the fair translation appears to me to be, He entered into the forests and passes, which exist to the eastward, or on the east side of

this lake, and proceeded about 200 *li*—he does not say in what direction—to Hiranyapurvata. The distance also may appear a difficulty. From the hot spring above mentioned the distance to Monghir as the crow flies is only 20 miles. But Monghir may very well have been situated 4 or 5 miles further north than it now is; and if there ever was a case in all these travels in which one would be justified in using a large divisor in turning *li*s into miles, it is when the Pilgrim was entangled in the jungles and among the hills of Kuruckpoor. The great facts, however, are that the Rohinila monastery was certainly situated at some distance in the Kuruckpoor hills; and the smoking hills and volcanic phenomena noticed by the Pilgrim certainly indicate the immediate proximity of Monghir as the site of the capital; so the exact distance and direction in this instance become less important than usual; but both, as appears to me, are well within the limits of deviation pointed out above.

Having now shown how this journey may be protracted on the map without altering one bearing from what is found in the text, or one distance by a single *li*, and, what is more important still, showing that the whole is in the strictest conformity with all the natural features of the country, it is time to turn back and see what results are produced by the system followed by my predecessors.

M. Vivien de St.-Martin first identifies Hiouen-Thsang's Indrasilaguha with Behar, and having made this mistake, passes lightly over the rest of the journey, merely stating that though it is possible to follow the Pilgrim in a general manner, the intermediate stations cannot be identified, till we reach Rohinila, which he finds in the Roynallah of Rennell, at the southern bend of the river—not far from Luckiserai—but certainly not in the hills where Hiouen-Thsang places it.

General Cunningham enters more into detail. From Indrasilaguha or Giryäk, he first takes him to Behar, though for this purpose he is obliged to alter the bearing from N.E. to due North, and the distance from 160 *li* to 60. But even supposing these admissible, it seems impossible that the bare isolated rock there could ever represent the extensive hill

covered with forests, from which streams flow into the valleys, and which was covered with Vihâras and temples, as described by our author. If this was the place, however, there is no objection to Titarâwa being the nameless convent;—"the isolated hill" being wholly a difficulty of the General's own creation. But the next journey is quite inadmissible. To reach the Ganges to the north-west, he is obliged to alter 70 *li* to 170, and then he only reaches a village, in which he has no interest, in order to turn south-west again to get round to the southern bend of the river. Had he ever been at Titarâwa, he evidently would have gone east direct. But from this village to Rohinila, regarding the site of which he agrees with M. de St.-Martin, he is again obliged to alter the bearing from E. to S.E., and, what is more important, takes him through a country where there neither are nor were either hills or forests. If he were correct in reading the direction of the last journey as E., it must again be altered to the North-east, which is the more correct direction of Monghir from that place.

The capital defect however in this, as too frequently the case in General Cunningham's determinations, is, that though he twice arbitrarily alters the distance, and three times the direction given by his author, even in this short distance, he fails in every instance to bring the natural features of the country into accord with the descriptions of the Pilgrim.

*Hiranyaparvata to Kâmarupa.*¹

The first stage Hiouen-Thsang reaches and describes is Champa, at a distance of 300 *li*, or 50 miles. It is assumed by General Cunningham, and I think correctly, as some place near Bhagulpur, though if this is so, the distance, as in the last stage, is greatly in excess of the truth. In the text the words are, "Il suivit la rive méridionale du Gange, et après avoir fait environ trois cents *li* à l'est, il arriva au royaume de Tchampa." The road still follows the south bank of the

¹ Si-yu-ki, i. pp. 71-81.

Ganges, but the distance from Monghir is only about 36 miles, instead of 50. Either it is that Monghir was, as I conjectured in the last section, situated 4 or 5 miles further north, or that the Ganges bent further south between these two places, or perhaps both causes combined may account for the difference. General Cunningham relies a good deal for his identification on an expression of our author a little further on (p. 72), where he says, "A 140 à 150 *li* à l'est de la capitale, et au sud du Gange, on voit une montagne isolée, que l'eau environne de toutes parts et dont les pics escarpés ont une hauteur extraordinaire. Sur le sommet de cette montagne, il y a un temple des dieux. On a creusé des demeures dans les flancs de la montagne, on a amené des cours d'eau et l'on a formé des étangs. On y voit des bocages fleuris et des arbres rares. Ses larges rochers et ses crêtes effrayantes servent d'asyle à des hommes renommés par leur humanité et leur sagesse." This he identifies with the Colgong rocks, situated eastward of Bhagulpur at about the distance indicated, and I am not prepared to say it may not be so. But on the whole I am inclined to think the description answers much better to the Mandar Hill,¹ which is situated some 26 miles to the south of the Ganges, though certainly not to the east of the capital. But as our traveller did not himself visit the place, neither the distance nor direction can be depended upon. It may also be remarked that it is extremely improbable that Hiouen-Thsang should allude in this chapter to a place he was going to pass in the next. I do not recollect any other instance of his so doing. As the next journey to Kadjoûghira—which I take to be Rajmahal—is called 400 *li*, or say 66 miles, is much more difficult and jungly, and is actually by the road 63 or 64 miles, I should certainly be inclined to disregard the Colgong distance, and look for the capital to the eastward or southward of Bhagulpur. As in almost all instances our author does not give us a hint of what the name of the capital may have been, so it is in vain to look to our maps for any assistance in this respect. It is true that in Rennell's

¹ Franklin. Inquiry concerning the site of Palibothra, part ii., pp. 13, 26, 72, 78. Babu Rasbihari Bose. Indian Antiquary, part ii., p. 51, et seqq.

time there were two large and important places called Champernagur and Champerpore, near Bhagulpore, but situated to the westward of that place, and neither of them having apparently any claim to antiquity or ancient renown. It is interesting, no doubt, to find the old name of the country still clinging to the soil, but it is curious to observe how transient even such things are in the East, for no such names are now to be found in the far more detailed sheets of the Indian Atlas;—another proof among many how little nominal similarities are to be depended upon in this inquiry. There is no evidence whatever to show that Champa was the name of the capital, and the absence or presence of that name on our modern maps is the merest accident, and, when it occurs, merely shows that the old name of the country still lingers among the inhabitants.

From this place, wherever it was, our Pilgrim proceeded about 400 *li* to the eastward to Kadjoûghira. The distance, as above mentioned, would fit exactly for Rajmahal; but General Cunningham (p. 479) makes the distance 90 miles, or 540 *li*, which surely is a mistake;¹ he must mean to Kânkjol, a place 18 miles further on, which, from the similarity of the name, he identifies with Kadjoûghira, though I confess I do not see it. Both he and M. de St.-Martin, however, are agreed that Rajmahal, or some place very near it, was the terminus of this stage. M. de St.-Martin notices a village called Cudjery, near where Cunningham places Kânkjol, or about 16 miles below Rajmahal. It may be so, but I have no faith in these names, when there are no ruins or other indications to back them; and I feel quite sure that no village situated where this one is could last for a couple of centuries without being washed away.

Looking at the distance given by Hiouen-Thsang, the object of his visiting this neighbourhood, which was to get direct to Poundravarddhana, and the probability of the

¹ Both the road and the railroad follow the course of the Ganges, and so far as I know, the former always has done so. The distance between Rajmahal and Bhagulpur being by the one 63, by the other 66 miles. I am not aware of any practical road ever having existed through the hills, and if our traveller had got entangled in these impenetrable jungles, I feel sure he would have mentioned it.

country about and below Gaur being a swamp 1200 years ago, I fancy the place must be sought for either at Sicligully or Rajmahal, or somewhere between these places.¹ As its fixation, however, has little bearing on the geography of this part of the country, its exact determination may be left to future research.

The next two journeys are all important to the geography of North-eastern Bengal, and fortunately they are about the clearest and most easily fixed of any in the Itinerary of Hiouen-Thsang. The words in the text are, "En partant de ce pays, il passa à l'est le fleuve Gange, et après avoir fait environ 600 *li* (100 miles), il arriva au royaume de Poundra-varddhana"; and again, "en partant de ce royaume (Poundra-varddhana), il fit environ neuf cent *li* (150 miles) à l'est, passa un grand fleuve, et arriva au royaume de Kâmaroûpa."

The first bearing and distance would take us nearly to Rungpur, as the country was open and cultivated, probably quite so. It may have been a little to the north or south of that place, but could not have been far away from it. The river he passed in his next journey was without doubt the Brahmaputra. It is the rarest thing possible for him to mention rivers, and never unless they are very important, and such as the two mentioned in these two journeys. The direction was again east, and at the distance of 150 miles exactly, he would reach Gowhatti, or Gohati, which is, and, so far as we know, always was, the capital of Kamrup, a province still marked on our maps, and as well known as any in our empire. Here for once, therefore, we have a place situated 250 miles east—in the sense indicated above—from Rajmahal, in reaching which he would have to cross two

¹ Six centuries afterwards we find from the Mahomedan historians that the city of Gaur was divided into two parts. One half, called Laknauti, was situated on the right or western bank of the river; the other, Deo Kote, on the left bank, near where the present city stands. The first may therefore represent the city we are looking for, and if so, it could not have been far from Rajmahal.

From the same authorities we learn that the sovereign of that day erected or repaired bunds extending for ten days' journey from Nagore, in Birbhûm, to the city of Deo Kote, to protect the country from inundation, and also to form a road for travellers through a country which was otherwise an impassable swamp during the rainy season. *

* Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 57. Sir H. Elliot, *Historians of India*, ii. p. 318.

great rivers, and which, for reasons to be given presently, undoubtedly was the place indicated.

Though this appears to me so absolutely certain, I am bound to admit that it is by no means the view taken by my predecessors. M. de St.-Martin, attracted by the Sanskrit name of Burdwan, neglects his statement that he crossed the river, and takes him south from Rajmahal instead of east to that place; though, as General Cunningham points out (p. 480), the proper name is not Varddhana, but Varddhamana. The direction, the description, and the name, all show that this could not be the place; but having got so far wrong, he does not recover his lost ground till the Pilgrim leaves Bengal.

General Cunningham does not do such violence to his text. He takes the Pilgrim across the Ganges; but fancying he detects a similarity between the words Pubna and Paundra, he takes him south-east instead of east: though if he knew Pubna and its neighbourhood as well as I do, he would know that two centuries would be a very long life for a city in that neighbourhood. Some centuries hence the country in that neighbourhood may be sufficiently consolidated to admit of a town being built so near the banks of the Ganges as Pubna is; but in the past this certainly was not the case, and the site of that village must have been under the bed of the Ganges at least half a dozen times in the last twelve centuries. But the one proof necessary in this place is, that having got him here, by no stretch could he reach Gohati, though the General admits (p. 500) that that was the capital of Kamrup. He is therefore obliged to take him due north—instead of east—to Komatipur, the whilom capital of Kooch Behar, which may have been the capital of a province of Kamrup, but never of the kingdom. But the worst part is, that having gone due north, he is obliged to return due south by the same route, through Pubna to Jessore, which he identifies with Samatata, the next stage. This, however, is a thing Hiouen-Thsang never did; and it is evident that if he had been going to visit Komatipur, he would have gone there direct from Rajmahal,—the distance is only 110 miles; and

thence on to Pubna, thus saving himself a journey of 1500 *li*, and seeing the only two places he wanted to see, by two long journeys instead of three.

It is of course in vain to look on the maps of the present day for any name, or probably for any ruins, that would indicate the site of the once famous capital of Eastern Bengal. Even in the beginning of this century, Buchanan Hamilton complains that "since the survey made by Major Rennell (20 years before his time), the rivers of this district have undergone such changes that I find the utmost difficulty in tracing them."¹ And the recent Topographical Survey shows how unresting they have been since his day. Few districts of India have in fact been more ploughed up by its rivers than Rungpur. Even Komatipur, which in his day was so important as to induce Buchanan Hamilton to transgress his instructions in order to visit it, has almost entirely disappeared. In his day its walls were so complete, that he could make a careful plan of them,² and of the ruins they inclosed. There was nothing ancient in the place, and the presence of a glacis shows that the fortifications were erected subsequently to the introduction of gunpowder. The name is not now to be found on the district maps, though some small earthworks near a place called Kaleegunje probably mark the site, though with no more dignified title than "Native School"; and Lall Bazaar, which in Rennell's time was the next important place in the neighbourhood, has now dwindled into so small a place, that it can with difficulty be recognized.³

Still I would not despair of its site being found if any one

¹ Montgomery Martin. *Eastern India*, iii., p. 358.

² *l. c.* ii., pl. 1, p. 426.

³ In the fourth volume of the *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, published in 1824, there is an account of Pundra Desa, abstracted from the Brahmananda section of the Bhavishyat Purana. Among the divisions of that country therein specified, is one called Nivritti, and said to comprise Dinagepur, Rungpur, and Cooch Behar (p. 190),—consequently the whole of the Eastern half of Hiouen-Thsang's kingdom of Poundravarddhana. Its chief towns are said to be Verddhana Kuta, which may be the very town we are looking for, but then governed by a Yavana or Musselman; Kachhapa, on the banks of the Gurnu or Teesta river; and Sriranga or Vaharica, where the women are remarkable for flat noses. This last was no doubt the capital of Kooch Vihar, or Behar; but whether Komatipur or not, there is nothing to show:—most probably it was.

intimately acquainted with the district would earnestly undertake the search, and it would be interesting if its site could be fixed, as we know from the Raja Tarangini,¹ that more than a century after Hiouen-Tsang's time, it was the capital of the country between the Koosy and the Brahmaputra, and till such time as the banks of the Ganges about Gaur became so consolidated as to allow of a permanent city being built there, probably about the tenth century. Tāranātha too represents it as the capital of the Pāla dynasty,² and as one of the most important cities of India, and its fixation would consequently be a gain in every respect.

With regard to Gohati, there can be no mistake. In his paper on Assam, Captain Dalton³ gives the following account of its present appearance: "Mr. Robinson, the Commissioner, has assumed that Gowhatty was the ancient, as it is the modern, capital of the valley. Its former importance is indeed well attested by the immense extent of its fortifications, the profusion of carved stones which every excavation of the modern town brings to light, the remains of stone gateways, and the old stone bridges that are found both within and without the old city walls. These walls, partly of masonry, embrace a tract several square miles in extent." Captain Hannay, too, gives a view of one of the bridges, like all the rest, constructed without arches, on the horizontal principle.⁴ It is so grand and so old, that I see no good reason for doubting but that Hiouen-Tsang may have passed over it.

Besides all this, the Pilgrim's own description will apply to no other country than this. "A l'est de ce royaume règne une chaîne de montagnes et de collines; on ne rencontre aucune capitale de grand royaume. Ses frontières sont voisines des Barbares du sud-ouest" (the Garrows). "J'ai appris qu'après un voyage de deux mois on peut entrer dans les frontières sud-ouest du pays de Chou. Mais les montagnes et les rivières pre-

¹ Asiatic Researches, xv., p. 54.

² Geschichte des Buddhismus, pp. 99, 101, 141, 143.

³ J.A.S.B. xxiv., p. 1 et seqq.

⁴ J.A.S.B. xx., p. 291 et seqq.

sentent à la fois des obstacles et des dangers.” “Au sud est de ce royaume des elephants sauvages marchent en troupe et exercent leurs fureurs,” etc.¹ Nothing I fancy can more correctly describe the province of Kamrup; situated to the north-east of the Garrow hills, and occupying the whole upper part of the valley of Assam; but it in no way applies to Komatipur, or to any other province of Bengal that I am acquainted with. More might be added, but this is sufficient to show that so far at least as Gohati the route of the Pilgrim may be determined with certainty.

*From Kamrup to Kalinga.*²

The next route and country are described in the following terms in the Si-yu-ki. “En sortant de ce pays (Kâmaroupa), il fit 1200 à 1300 *li* au sud, et arriva au royaume de Samatata. Ce royaume a 3000 *li* (500 miles) en circonférence. Il est voisin d'une grande mer, et de là, vient que le sol est bas et humide.” Although Hiouen-Thsang visited both Kamarupa and Samatata, as we shall presently show, it was on two different occasions, and though it is so asserted in the text, he never made the journey in question. If he had, he probably would have described it as at least one half longer, as he could hardly have crossed the Kossyah hills, but must have first gone east to Goalparah, and then south. But taking it as we find it, it lands us at Sonargaon, or some place very near that city, which preceded Dacca as the capital of this province. For this and other reasons, I have no doubt but that the district or province of Dacca is the kingdom described as Samatata in our text. It must 1200 years ago have been close to a great sea. Its soil is low and humid, but curiously enough we have evidence that it must have included a portion at least of the hill country of Tipperah. In the Gupta inscription of the Allahabad lât, in the nineteenth line, it is said that the king (Samudra Gupta) exacted tribute from the neighbouring (outlying?) *hilly* countries of Samata, Taravrakra, Kamarupa, Nepala, etc.,³ an

¹ Si-yu-ki, ii., p. 80.

² Si-yu-ki, pp. 76 to 91.

³ J.A.S.B. vi., p. 973.

epithet which quite takes it out of the vicinity of Jessore, but answers perfectly to this site, to which we will return presently.

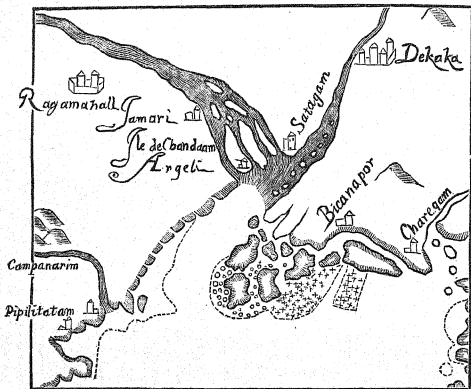
The next journey has been the stumbling-block to all previous inquirers; and if we are to attach any importance to names, I see no way of reconciling Hiouen-Tsang's narrative with the facts of the case. It is described in the following terms: "En partant du royaume de Samatata, il fit environ 900 *li* à l'ouest, et arriva au royaume de Tamralipti. Ce royaume a de quatorze à quinze *li* de tour (240 miles). Il avoisine les bords de la mer; le sol est bas et humide," etc. From its name, and this description, it has always hitherto been assumed, that the place indicated was the modern Tumluk, on the Rupnarain river, and I am not prepared to dispute that the name may not be the modern representative of Tamralipti, though I by no means consider that as certain. Other derivations have been suggested,¹ and for other reasons, I should decline to be guided by any nominal similarities, even if more certain than this one.

Besides all this, it is by no means clear that Tamralipti was the name of the capital or of any city whatever. The district was so called, but the capital may have borne the name of one of the Satgaon or seven villages, or of Hugli, or more probably of Tribani or Triveni; from the fact of the three rivers which met at Pryaga or Allahabad—the Bhaugarutti, the Jumna, and the Saraswati—again meeting at this spot, and forming the lower, as that formed the upper, sacred spot of junction. There is every reason for supposing that this tradition is old, and the name may consequently be so also. Hugli was always reputed to be one of the principal seats of learning in Bengal, and consequently just such a spot as Fa-Hian may have settled himself in, to study for a couple of years;² but that he ever should have resided for such a length of time in so pestiferous a swamp as Tumluk is, and always must have been, is most unlikely.

¹ Hunter's Orissa, i., p. 311.

² Travels, translated by Beal, p. 147. His remark indeed is nearly final on the controversy, for he says, "Here it is that the river (the Ganges) empties itself into the sea,"—the same remark that was made by the Ayeen Akbari, and no way applicable to Tumluk.

Putting the name therefore aside for the present, what our Pilgrim says is, that from Samatata (the hilly Samata), he travelled 900 *li*, or 150 miles, west, and reached the small state of Tamralipti. By no possibility can this be stretched to Tumluk, which is at least 200 miles from Sonargaon, and by the way the Pilgrim must have travelled considerably more; but it exactly fits Satgaon, near Hugli, which was the great port of Bengal when the Portuguese and English first visited India. It was the highest point to which the depth of



Map of the Mouths of the Ganges from Purchas his Pilgrimes, vol. i., p. 578.

water and the flow of the tide would allow sea-going vessels to reach, and consequently was, as in almost every instance in the world, where a port is situated on a river, the spot chosen for the establishment of an emporium, where the sea-borne and inland traffic could meet. The above woodcut will show what our early navigators thought of its situation. The map is worthless in every other respect, except as showing that the mouths by which the Ganges flowed into the sea were considered to be situated at Satgaon. The

Ayeen Akbari confirms this to the fullest extent. It is there said, "The main river in its course south forms three streams—the Sursutty, the Jown (Jumna), and the Gang (or Ganges). The three streams collectively are called by the Hindous Tirpunny. The Gang, after having divided into a thousand channels, joins the sea at Satagong, and the Sursutty and Jown discharge themselves in like manner."¹ If this was the case about A.D. 1600, it must have been doubly so 1000 years earlier, and there can be no doubt but that Satgaon, as well as Sonargaon, were situated on bays of the sea, and that the latter was the great port of what we now know as the Bengal province.²

When we look carefully at Hiouen-Thsang's text, however, we find we want two great ports, Tamralipti and Tcharitrapoura. It was apparently at the former place that he got the information he details about Ceylon, and determined in consequence to proceed through Orissa, and by land. But further on, when in Orissa, he describes the second place in the following terms: "Sur les frontières sud-est du royaume (of Orissa), et près du rivage d'une grande mer, on rencontre la ville de Tcharitra, dont la circonférence est d'une vingtaine des *li*. C'est là que passent et s'arrêtent en allant et venant les marchands qui s'embarquent, et les voyageurs des contrées lointaines." The question is, where was this Orissan port? Tumluk is now in the district of Midnapur, but that district was always, down to Akbar's time, a part of Orissa, and indeed there is evidence that frequently the frontiers of Orissa extended up to Satgaon and Tribany,³ and it seems impossible to find room for Hiouen-Thsang's kingdom of Orissa, 7000 *li* in circumference, without taking its northern frontier up at least to Serampur: in modern times it has extended to Satgaon itself.

Where then was this Orissan port of Tcharitrapoura? It

¹ Gladwin's translation, ii., p. 5.

² I am afraid it is impossible to found any argument on the position assigned by Ptolemy to "Tamilbes." The name may be the same as Tamralipti, but calculating the distance from Palibothra, his latitude and longitude would place it near Monghir. Perhaps we may infer from this that his informants described it as distant from the sea, but that is as much as we dare.

³ J.A.S.B., 1847, p. 394 et seqq.

certainly was not in the Chilkea lake, not only because there is no tradition and no trace of a port there, but because it is in the south-west, not south-east, of Orissa. It also seems most improbable that any of the barred rivers between the Chilkea lake and the Hugli river could be the port indicated. From the nature of the shore and the set of the current they all must have been obstructed at their mouths. It is true, of course, that in the early part of the last century the English had factories at Balasore and Pippy; but it was because from political motives the Mogul denied us the privilege of entering the rivers, and the Balasore roads form a safe enough anchorage during six months of the year for European-built vessels, with European ground tackle. But that the frail barks of the natives should ever use such an open roadstead, with such a surf-beaten shore to their leeward, is most unlikely, especially, when by drifting with a single tide, they might anchor in safety in so snug and land-locked a harbour as Tumluk, and one so centrally situated; for it was then in the very centre of Orissa, and it could easily communicate by the Saraswati (Sursutty) with Satgaon and the rivers of Bengal. If this is so, Tumluk was certainly Tcharitrapoura,¹ and *à fortiori* not Tamralipti.

If these views are correct, the insight they give us into the river-system of Lower Bengal is so curious, that though not strictly relevant, it may be worth while to mention it here. It appears that in Hiouen-Thsang's days Tamralipti was situated at the head of an estuary where the main waters of the Ganges joined the sea; but where also one branch called the Saraswati, or Sursutty, on which Satgaon was situated, branched off to the right, and, flowing in a southern direction, joined the Rupnarain at or near Tumluk. At that time, as we know from Rennell's maps and local indications, the Damuda joined the Hugli, or rather the sea above Satgaon; but as the land rose, it was gradually forced southward, and it may be 500, it may be 1000 years ago, cut

¹ The description given by Mr. Hunter in his "Orissa" leaves no doubt but that Tumluk was an important city in ancient times, and certainly represented one of these two places.

across the Sursutty, and apparently threw a dam across it, which it is quite capable of doing. The Sursutty consequently silted up, and it is then, I fancy, that the inhabitants of Tamralipti (or Satgaon) migrated southwards to Tiharitrapoura, taking their name with them. When the Hugli became a river, instead of an estuary, and consequently suited for the frail craft of the natives, it again became the popular means of communication, and Satgaon resumed the supremacy we find it possessing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Be all this as it may, the next journeys our Pilgrim makes seem in themselves sufficient to prove the correctness of the hypothesis that Tamralipti was situated at or near Satgaon. From this country "il fit environ 700 *li* (116 miles) au nord-ouest, et arriva au royaume de Karna Souvarna. Ce royaume a 4400 à 4500 *li* (700 miles) de tour. La population est fort nombreuse, et toutes les familles vivent dans l'aisance. Le sol est bas et humide. Les grains se sement et se récoltent à des époques régulières, les fleurs y viennent en abondance, ainsi que les fruits les plus rares et les plus estimés," and so on in the same strain.

Now, if Tumluk is Tamralipti, the distance and direction here given would take us far into the jungles of Singbhûm, which is in fact where General Cunningham places this city, and takes occasion to describe the manners and customs of the Kols, and Mûndas, and other savages who inhabit these wild tracts, all which are widely at variance with Hiouen-Thsang's description, who says, "Les mœurs sont douces et pures, les habitants aiment et cultivent les lettres, ils suivent au même temps l'erreur et la vérité." Assuming, however, that Satgaon, or some place near it, was Tamralipti, the distance and bearing given above would take us to Nagore, or some place in Northern Burdwan or Birbhûm, and there every word becomes applicable. Burdwan, with part of Birbhûm, is the garden of Bengal, and the most populous of its provinces, and it is precisely at Nagore,¹ or some place

¹ From the authorities quoted above, p. 26, it is evident that Nagore was a place of importance in the 13th century, and that it was then necessary to protect it by embankments against inundation.

near it, that we should look for the capital, which afterwards, when the river banks became sufficiently consolidated, was moved down to the neighbourhood of Murshidabad where we now find it.¹ The kingdom of Karna Souvarna, I take it, comprehended the northern part of Burdwan, the whole of Birbhûm, and the province of Murshidabad, including all those parts of the districts of Kishnaghur and Jessore which were then sufficiently raised above the waters of the Ganges to be habitable.²

The only other mention our traveller makes of this kingdom is when he relates, "A cette époque (605 A.D. ?) Sasanka, roi du royaume Karna Souvarna, dans l'Inde orientale, disait chaque jour à ses ministres. Quand *dans le voisinage* il y a un roi sage, c'est le malheur du royaume. La dessus il l'attira perfidement dans un rendezvous et le tua." Placed where I have placed it, Karna Souvarna was conterminous with the dominions of the great Magadha dynasty, and consequently such a transaction became possible. With another kingdom, or a less powerful and civilized monarch, it would be most improbable.

From Karna Souvarna, "il fit 700 *li* (116 miles) au sud-ouest, et arriva au royaume de Ouḍa. Le royaume a 7000 *li* (1155 miles) en circonférence; le sol est gras et fertile, et donne des riches moissons. Toutes les espèces des fruits y sont plus

¹ In a paper by Captain Layard, in vol. xxii. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, it is stated, at p. 281, that the town of Rungamutti, situated 12 miles south of Murshidabad, stands on the site of an old city whose name was Kuru-sona-ka-ghur, which is evidently the modern Bengali translation of Karna Souvarna Nagara. The two first words at least are quite certain, and they are those which are important in the present case.

² In the extracts from the Bhavishyat Purāna, in the 4th vol. of the *Quarterly Oriental Magazine*, above referred to, it is said (p. 191), "In that part of the district of Virabhumi called Viradesa is the city Nagara (Nagore), also Sipulya, and other towns. On the western borders, among others, the village of *Suvarna di*, and on the southern confines towards the Odra country is Kinda Vishna. *Suvarna-mukhya* is in the forest," etc. From this description it is hardly probable that either of these Suvarnas is the one we are looking for; but it is curious to find the name Suvarna twice repeated in this small district, where, from Hiouen-Tsang's indication, we would place it. The passage is also curious in bringing up the frontiers of Odra or Orissa so far north. In the following page (192) Verddhamana, or Burdwan, is distinctly described, and according to our usual notions it intervened between the two; but the compiler of the Purāna places Birbhûm and Odra in juxtaposition, as Hiouen-Tsang does.

As, however, Murshidabad was built (p. 189) when the Purāna was written, the old capital was deserted, and probably removed bodily to the new; so we should not be surprised at its not being mentioned.

abondant que dans les autres royaumes," etc., much in the same terms as he speaks of the last kingdom, except that he adds, "Les mœurs sont farouches, et leur langue et leur prononciation different de celles de l'Inde centrale."

Taking the bearing and distance as we find it in the text, it would land us in the district of Midnapur, somewhere to the westward of the city of that name. I am not aware of any ruins, or any tradition, that would point to any locality in that direction as the capital of Orissa in the seventh century, but it has not been looked for, and may yet be found.¹ Meanwhile the general opinion is that Jajipur, on the Byturni, was chosen the capital of the Kesari kings of Orissa in 473.² It may have been so, but two centuries is a long life for an Indian capital; and as Midnapur was a part, and the best part, of Orissa down to Akbar's time, nothing is more likely than that the capital, or a capital, was situated in this central situation when Hiouen-Thsang was there. Indeed, if we may trust the annals at the very time of his visit, Lelat Indra Kesari (A.D. 617 to 657) was busily employed in founding a new capital at Bhuvaneswar, and erecting there the great temple, which is the finest as well as the oldest temple of its class we know of. He was, however, a bigoted Sivite, and it is not likely that Hiouen-Thsang would go near him or his new capital, but would be content with any old one he met in his way.

From this place, wherever it was, "il fit environ 1200 *li* au sud-ouest au milieu des vastes forêts, et arriva au royaume de Konyodha. Ce royaume a environ 1000 *li* (166 miles) de tour; il est voisin d'une baie, les montagnes et les collines sont fort élevées, le terrain est bas et humide. Les frontières de ce royaume embrassent plusieurs dizaines des petites villes, qui touchent à des montagnes, et sont situées au confluent des deux mers."

¹ Mr. Beames, it is true, has recently discovered and described* the remains of several ancient cities in this district which were hitherto unknown. Neither from their size nor position do any of them seem to answer to our Pilgrim's description, but their existence goes far to show that others may be found when looked for.

² Asiatic Researches, xv., p. 265. Hunter. Orissa, i.

* Indian Antiquary, ii., p. 33; iii., p. 75; viii., p. 254.

From the description of the difficulties of the route as mentioned in the text, it is evident 7 is by no means too large a divisor to take in converting *lis* into miles; and Khordhaghar, in the neighbourhood of Bhuvaneshwar, is just 170 miles south-west from Midnapur, and I think it is impossible to mistake the Chilkea lake as the great bay and the two seas of the text. The Pilgrim's remark that the people "*montrent un grand respect pour les hérétiques, et ne croient point à la loi de Buddha,*" indicates the proximity of the great Sivite shrine. But it may also be that he stopped here, as he did between Patna and Gaya, to visit the caves in the Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills, which are an undoubted Buddhist locality, though, as on the former occasion, he passes them by in silence. Their position would also answer sufficiently to the distances given in the text.

Wherever the capital may have been,—and we have certainly no trace of it yet,—I take it as nearly certain that this small kingdom was situated to the northward of the Chilkea lake, and somewhere between Kuttack and Aska,¹ where one of Asoka's great edict tablets still exists.

Leaving Konyodha, both authorities state, "*qu'il fit au sud-ouest de 1400 à 1500 li, à travers des forêts vastes et sauvages, et arriva au royaume de Kalinga.*" From this description of the country, it is evident we must use a large divisor in converting the *li* into miles. Taking 7, which is certainly not a bit too much, this would give 200 to 216 miles; while the distance from Kuttack to Visianagram, which seems the most important place in this district, is 220 miles as the crow flies. If, however, we adopt Khordhaghar as the capital of Konyodha, or Cicacole (Siricola), as the capital of Kalinga, as General Cunningham seems inclined to do,² we may cut off from 20 to 30 miles from either end of our route, without in the least disturbing the conclusion that the capital of Konyodha was situated not far from Kuttack, and that of Kalinga not very far either from the Kalingapatam of our maps.³

¹ J.R.A.S. xx. p. 105.

² Ancient Geography, p. 516.

³ I am rather inclined to adopt General Cunningham's suggestion that Coringa

Looking at Hiouen-Thsang's description of the last, and the nature of the country he must have passed through on his next route, I confess I would feel inclined to look for the capital further inland some 20 or 30 miles from the coast; but we know so very little regarding that country, that it is impossible to arrive at any certainty: and as very little hangs upon it, the determination of the exact spot is one that may safely be left for future investigation. The bearing and distance give the whereabouts of the capital with sufficient exactness for our present purposes.

In following these two last journeys, we again become aware of the inextricable confusion introduced into the narrative by adopting Tumluk as the representative of Tamralipti. M. Vivien de St.-Martin quotes Hoeï-li as saying the distance from Tamralipti to the capital of Outcha (Orissa) was 700 *li* (p. 389), and General Cunningham repeats this statement, though from the mode in which he does so, he shows he is aware that he has only M. de St.-Martin's authority for it. No distance is given by Hoeï-li as above stated, and the 700 *li* in the Si-yu-ki from the capital, is measured from Karna Souvarna. Having, however, got so much too far to the south, though General Cunningham is most ingenious in his explanations how the distances quoted may be shortened (p. 513), he is obliged to carry the Pilgrim on to Raja Mahendri, on the Banks of the Godavery, before he turns north-west to Kôsala, to return by an almost parallel road to Danakachêka. This, on the very face of it, is most improbable, and there seems nothing to support the idea

is the Calington of Pliny, but not for the same reasons. He states that "in book vi. ch. 23, Pliny states that the distance of this place from the mouths of the Ganges, is 625 Roman, or 574 British miles, and then that Dandagula must be Dantapura, and may with much probability be identified with Raja Mahendri, which is only 30 miles N.E. of Coringa," etc. I find in the 20th chapter of book vi., "Ab ostio Gangis ad Promontorium Calington et oppidum Dandagula dccxxv., m. pas." 725, instead of 625, and certainly to the town as well as to the promontory, so it is impossible to add 30 miles without violence to the text. Nor can I admit the nominal similarity between Dandagula and Dantapura is worth anything, as taking the scene so far south would violate every probability of the narrative of the Danta dhatu wanso. It could not, as I read the story, be further south than Puri, and I miss the passage which says that Dantapura was situated on a great river. Notwithstanding all this, we come to the same conclusion with regard to the promontory, because I measure from Satgaon, he from Sangur.

that Kalinga and its capital were so far south. M. Vivien de St.-Martin, with more boldness, adopts the only course that really was left open to him. He adopts the Kalingapatam of the maps as the Kalinga of the Chinese Pilgrim—in which I have no doubt he was nearly right—and throws overboard in consequence the measurements by which the Pilgrim reaches it as “trop forte” (p. 395), and consequently unworthy of attention. By placing Tamralipti at Satgaon, all these difficulties might have been avoided.

Having now conducted our Pilgrim beyond the limits of the Bengal Presidency, it will be well to turn back to notice a discrepancy that exists between Hoeï-li and the Si-yu-ki, and which, if not capable of explanation, might throw discredit on the whole.

In the Hoeï-li, or life, the Pilgrim does not visit Kamarupa at all; but leaving Poundravarddhana, we find the following entry: “De là il fit 900 *li* au sud-est, et arriva à Karna Souvarna,” and further on, “de là il sortit au sud-est, et arriva au royaume de Samatata, qui est voisin d’une grande mer.” From this his route to Tamralipti is in the same terms as in the Si-yu-ki, from which it is said, “Le maitre de la loi se dirigea au sud-ouest (no distance given), et arriva au royaume de Ouda” (p. 184).

The first part of this discrepancy is easily explained. In the great journey from Nalanda to Sinhala, he did not visit Kamarupa. His visit to that place was subsequent to his return to Nalanda, when he was induced, at the pressing invitation of Kumara, to visit the Assamese capital (Hoeï-li, pp. 227-236). Although, therefore, the Si-yu-ki was quite correct in using the expression “il fit,” it was in 642, and not in 639, that he made this journey. On the first occasion of visiting Poundravarddhana, he turned to the south-east to visit Samatata. But by a curious mistake, Hoeï-li inserted Karna Souvarna between the two places. It does not seem difficult to see how this arose. In the notes from which the Si-yu-ki was compiled, there was a place inserted between the two, and Karna Souvarna got substituted instead

of Kamarupa, either by the original author, or by some subsequent editor;¹ but immediately afterwards the mistake is confessed, as no distance is mentioned between Karna Souvarna and Samatata.

In like manner, when he leaves Tamralipti, Hœi-li could not make him go to Karna Souvarna, he had already used that place, but takes him at once to Orissa—south-west: but again omits the distance. These, I believe, are the only two instances in which distances are omitted between important places, and they show clearly that the author perceived there was something wrong; but if we take Karna Souvarna out of the position assigned to it in Hœi-li's text, and put it in Northern Burdwan, where, for the reasons above given, I believe it certainly was, all becomes clear. From Rungpur he goes 900 *li*, 150 to 160 miles, S.E. to Samatata. This bearing and distance bring us again to the neighbourhood of Sonargaon; so the site is fixed by a regular triangle, that would warm the heart of a trigonometrical surveyor. Rungpur was 150 miles from Gohati, and Samatata was 200 miles south of Gohati, and 160 miles south-east from Rungpur; so its position, when taken with the other indications above mentioned, may be considered settled within very narrow limits.

Before leaving Samatata, Hiouen-Tsang mentions six Eastern kingdoms, which, if it were possible to identify, would add considerably to our knowledge of the early geography of these countries. The first-named, Çrichatra, which is mentioned in the following terms, "En partant de cet endroit (Samatata) dans la direction nord-est sur le bord de la mer, entre des montagnes et des vallées, on rencontre le royaume de Çrichatra." (H.L., 182.) If the direction is correct, this can only apply to Sylhet; but in that case the word translated "mer" must mean "lac": for though a great part of that district is still occupied as immense *jeels*,

¹ If my boundary lines between the different kingdoms are correct, Hiouen-Tsang must have passed through a corner of the country of Karna Souvarna on his way between Poundravardhana and Samatata, which may account for the mistake, but he certainly did not approach the capital on that occasion.

in spite of the quantities of mud which the Brahmaputra has been pouring into them down till about fifty years ago, still it is hardly probable—though by no means impossible—that the tide may have penetrated as far as Sylhet 1200 years ago, so that the low land of that district may have been really an arm of the sea. Though incapable of proof at present, even this hypothesis has so much probability about it, that it is worth inquiring into. He then goes on to say, “Plus loin sur une baie située au sud-est, on trouve le royaume de Kāmālānkā.” “Plus loin à l’est se trouve le royaume de Dārāpati.” If Mr. Wathen is right in asserting that Dvaravati and Meghavati are Sandoway and Cheduba,¹ the first name must represent Chittagaon and the kingdom of Arrakan, and the second the kingdom of Prome; and Isanapura, which is next mentioned as still further to the East, must be Pegu. The fifth is Mahachampa, under which name we have no difficulty in recognizing the ancient kingdom of Cambodia, whose wonderful temple ruins have recently excited so much astonishment in this country.² Beyond this, Hœi-li says, “à l’ouest” (the Si-yu-ki, “au sud-ouest”) lies “Yama na dwipa,” which can only mean Java, though the direction is sadly at variance with the truth. As none, however, of these countries were personally visited by our author, all he says about them must be received with great caution.

It is interesting to compare this with the account of the same countries given by Tāranātha, a Tibetan author, writing about 1600 A.D., but professing to describe the state of affairs a little after Hiouen-Thsang’s time from ancient authorities. “The northern lands,” he says, “Kamarupa, Tripura, and Hasama (Assam?), are called Girivarta, viz. ‘hill-inclosed.’ From thence going eastward on the side of the northern hills, are the Nangata lands (Naga?), and lying in the ocean Pukhan (Pugan), Balgu, and so on. The land Rakhang (Arrakan), Hamsavati (Pegu), and the other portions of the

¹ J.A.S.B. iii., 213.

² History of Architecture ii., p. 713 et seqq. Garnier’s Exploration du Mekon, i. Thomson’s Photographs. (Edmonston & Douglas, 1869.)

kingdom of Munjang. Further still lie Tschampa, Kam-bodscha, and the others. All these are comprehended under the general term Koki."¹

Even this does not help us much, but it is worth quoting, as the early geography of these countries is now attracting attention; and if a search were made, I have little doubt but that many such passages might be found: and it is only by collecting all such, and placing them in juxtaposition, that the truth can be ascertained.

Before leaving Bengal, it may be as well to glance backwards, and see what the results are which we have obtained with regard to the geography of Bengal in the seventh century.

On the extreme north-east we have the kingdom of Kamarupa, occupying the whole valley of Assam, fertile as it still is, but then rich and prosperous, in strange contrast to its present depopulated and uncultivated condition.

To the westward of this we have the kingdom of Poundravarddhana, occupying the country from the Koosy to the Brahmaputra, east and west, and on the south bounded by the Ganges, if that river did then flow south-eastward to join its great sister, which I very much doubt; occupying, in fact, the whole country afterwards known as the kingdom or province of Gaur.

Southward from Kamarupa we have Samatata, occupying the province now known as that of Dacca. Then the whole of the western half of the Province of Bengal practically divided between the two kingdoms of Karna Souvarna and Orissa; the former occupying the whole of the province of Murshidabad, extending eastward as far probably as Komeerkally, and westward to the boundaries of Behar, and southward to the Damuda; and Orissa extending from the northern limit to the Chilkea lake, to the boundaries of Karna Souvarna. Between these two was interpolated the little kingdom of Tamralipti, occupying the district of Hugli, and small parts of Burdwan and Kishnaghur, and such portions of Baraset

¹ Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, p. 262. Translated by Schiefner. (St. Petersburg, 1869.)

as were then habitable, which was probably not much ; and lastly we have the little kingdom of Konyodha, occupying the tract of country between the Chilkea lake and the hills.

Such a condition of things is not only in accordance with every expression of Hiouen-Thsang, but satisfies every tradition and every indication which we gather from the antiquities and other sources of information that are available to us.

The hydrographic results are equally curious. I dare not venture to affirm that the Sylhet *jeels* were then actually salt, and in direct communication with the sea ; but it seems by no means impossible that such was then the case. It is certain, at all events, that Sonargaon and Satgaon were at the head of two firths or estuaries, into which the Brahmaputra and Ganges then emptied themselves ; and it is nearly certain that the whole of the Delta south of a line drawn between these two places was a great salt-water lagoon. This, however, we gather as much from the progress that has been made in filling it up since Rennell's survey, as from Hiouen-Thsang's description ; but the one confirms the other in a most satisfactory manner. My impression is that the Sunderbuns then existed but as a reef—a Lido—in front of this lagoon, and that the Ganges did not then go eastward to join the Brahmaputra, but discharged itself into this lagoon, as the Ayeen Akbari says, "through a thousand channels."

*Kalinga to Danakachêka.*¹

From Kalinga our Pilgrim "fit environ 1800 *li* (Hoeï-li), (1900 Si-yu-ki), au nord-ouest, et arriva au royaume de Kôsala." At the usual average of 6 *li* to 1 mile, this is 300 to 316 miles. The shorter distance would take us exactly to Wyraghur, the longer to within 10 miles of Bhândak, about 18 miles N.W. of Chanda. Both, as we learn from Mr. Grant's invaluable Gazetteer of the Central Provinces,² were sites of old cities ; but at first sight the last named seems to

¹ Si-yu-ki, pp. 92-116. Hoeï-li, pp. 185-189.

² The Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India, edited by Charles Grant, Esq. 2nd edit. (Nagpore, 1870.) *sub voce*.

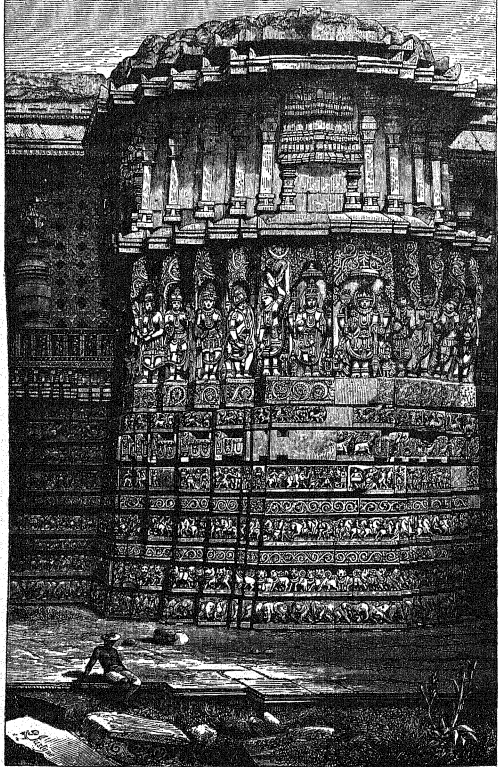
have the best title to be considered the capital of Kōsala. In the Gazetteer it is thus described:—"Local tradition identifies it with the great city of Bhadrāvātī mentioned in the Mahā Bhārata; and the scene of the battle for the Sāmkarna horse, which eventually was borne away by the demigod Bhīma for sacrifice by Dharma the King. The architectural remains in and around Bhāndak are of remote antiquity, and of great interest, among them being the temple caves of Bhāndak, and in the Winjhāsani and Dewālā hills, and the footprint of Bhīma (qy. Buddha) on the latter hill, the Temple of Bhadrāvātī, the site of the king's palace, the bridge over the now dried-up lake, the outlines of forts on the two hills just mentioned, and numerous ruins of tanks and temples, proving the existence of a great city in the far-distant past."

This description, combined with the distance and bearings, both to and from this place, so fully satisfies the exigencies of Hiouen-Thsang's narrative, that I would be quite content to leave the question there, but that another solution occurs which is so curious and interesting, that it certainly is worth mentioning here.

When Fa-Hian was at Benares, in the first years of the fifth century, he was told of a building in the far-distant Deccan, which he describes in the following terms:—"It is constructed out of a great mountain of rock, hewn to the proper shape. This building has altogether five storeys. The lowest is shaped into the form of an elephant, and has 500 stone cells in it. The second is in the form of a lion, and has 400 chambers. The third is shaped like a horse, and has 300 chambers. The fourth is in the form of an ox, and has 200 chambers. The fifth storey is in the shape of a dove, and has 100 chambers in it. At the very top of all is a spring of water, which, flowing in a stream before the rooms, encircles each tier," etc.¹

This description at first sight seems sufficiently improbable; but to any one acquainted with Indian architecture, this very improbability is the best proof that it was not invented, but

¹ Beal's Fa-Hian, pp. 139, 140. Foë-koué-ki, p. 314, et seqq.



Pavilion at Hullabeed from a Photograph.

that Fa-Hian's informant had seen what he described. The form of the temple in five storeys, each one fifth less than the one below it, is what we find at the Seven Pagodas, and in fact in all the temples of Southern India; and more especially in the description of the nearly contemporary Maha Lowa Paya at Anuradhapura, in Ceylon. It, however, had nine storeys, but each diminishing in the same ratio.¹ The succession of animals is also perfectly familiar to us. The annexed Woodcut, for instance, represents a portion of the Hullabeed Temple in the Mysore; its lower tier is adorned with elephants, the next with lions, above these are horsemen. A frieze is here interpolated; but above this we have animals, which it must be confessed can hardly be called oxen; but above them we have a frieze of birds which may very well be called pigeons. This is not, it is true, exactly what Fa-Hian describes; but if this building was, as Hiouen-Thsang says, built by Sadvahan² or Salivahana, or Satakarni, thirteen centuries elapsed between the two buildings, and the differences between the two are exactly what one would expect to be introduced in the interval. If, too, the date of the first century of our era is correct, this building was contemporary with the Sanchi gateways, and we know how freely elephants, lions, and even horses were introduced there, as capitals, and generally as architectural ornaments.

Hiouen-Thsang was nearer the place than his predecessor ever was, and his account leaves us doubtful whether it really was rock-cut or not. The mountain, or hill, on which it was erected, he says, "*n'a ni bords ni vallées elle semble ne former qu'un immense bloc de pierre,*" and he then mentions, "*des longues galleries, des auvents pour se promener à l'abri, des hautes tours, et un pavillon à cinq étages*"; and then the cascade which springs from the top of the mountain, etc. All, however, tending to show that the building was not completely rock-cut, but, in part at least, structural; and so far as can be made out from such information as is at present available, would answer perfectly for the Winjhāsani hill site.

¹ Transactions R.A.S. iii., p. 470, pl. 16.

² Si-yu-ki, ii., p. 102.

A plan of this structure is given in Major Lucie Smith's Report on the Chanda district; not very perfect, it must be confessed, but it represents a central mound, 120 feet in diameter, into which three great galleries, apparently cut in the rock, penetrate from 50 to 70 feet at right angles to the sides, and around it are ruins of very considerable extent. Externally it is now a mere mass of débris, but its vicinity to Bhándak and Chanda would account for its sculptures being removed and utilized. But altogether it is so like our Pigeon monastery that I would be inclined to adopt it as the true site till at least some other substitute is found.¹ Assuming for the nonce that this is so, Wyraghur was the capital of Kósala at the time of Hiouen-Thsang's visit. The Winjhásani hill is 62 miles south-west from it, rather more, it must be confessed, than the 300 *li* mentioned in the text, unless indeed we take 5 as our divisor. The direction is quite correct; but, even then, as the Pilgrim never traversed the route or saw the building, all he says regarding either must be taken *cum grano*.

If so near, however, it may be asked, why did he not visit it? The answer seems easy. It was deserted and taken from the Buddhists before Fa-Hian's time, and *à fortiori* in Hiouen-Thsang's time was still further desecrated, and occupied by people "who knew nothing of the laws of Buddha," and there was no object in visiting it. It might with equal propriety be asked why did he not visit the Gunamati monastery in Behar, when he was even nearer it, as described in the first section of this paper, but which he certainly passed by.

In so far as the geography of the preceding or subsequent routes is concerned, it is of very little consequence whether we adopt Wyraghur or Bhándak as the objective point of this route. But if the kingdom of Kósala were practically Chattisgarh, as Mr. Grant suggests,² and which I cannot

¹ The suggestion that Fa-Hian meant Ellora is easily disposed of, by one among many facts that might be adduced. The oldest excavations there—the Dherwarra and Vishwacarma—were not commenced till the seventh century, if indeed so early. The Poloyu monastery belonged to the first century of our era.

² Gazetteer Central Provinces, Introduction, p. lvi.

help thinking probable, Wyraghur certainly was more probably the capital than the other; and on the whole it suits better both the direction and distances given by the Pilgrim than the more western capital. What would really settle the question would be the discovery of the real Poloyu monastery,¹ if it exists; but making every possible allowance for the blindness of travellers, and for our profound ignorance of all that the Nizam's territory contains, I cannot look forward with much hope to its being found. If, however, it is not the Winjhásanī hill, its discovery would add more to our knowledge of the history of Indian architecture than any other that is now likely to reward the industry of explorers in these unknown regions.

The question whether Wyraghur or Bhándak was the capital of Kôsala in Hiouen-Thsang's time, is one which has no bearing on the subsequent geography of his route. Both lie well within the limits of deviation indicated. The first is N. 10° W., the second N. 20° W., and both are the same distance, 280 miles, from Bezwarra, which, as will be presently shown, was the capital of Dhanakachêka in the seventh century. The one difficulty is to determine the position of Vinkhila, the name of the capital of Andhra at this period. The words of the text are, "En partant de ce pays, il fit environ 900 *li* au sud" (General Cunningham says, p. 521, "to the south-west," but this is certainly a mistake), "*à travers des grandes forêts, et arriva au royaume de Andhra.*" The kingdom was not large, the circumference of the capital 20 *li*, and, what is quite exceptional, its name is given Vinkhila, which sounds very like Vengi, which we know was the name of the capital or country of the Eastern Chalukyas at this period.² The first impulse is to assume it was Warangal, which is 160 miles due south of Bhándak, and 170 from Wyraghur; but these distances are too great for a forest route when we cannot possibly use a divisor lower than $6\frac{1}{2}$ or 7, or say 130 to 140 miles, and there is no place on the maps at that distance which can now be recognized by any-

¹ Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li (Paramalagiri).—Si-yu-ki, ii., p. 101.

² J.R.A.S., New Series, I., p. 254.

thing like that name. The next stage is described in the following terms: "En sortant de ce pays il fit environ 1000 *li* au sud (vers le sud, Hoeï-li), à travers des forêts et des plaines desertes, et arriva au royaume de Danakachêka." From this description of the character of the country, we may safely take 7 as our divisor, and make this between 140 and 150 miles, as I take it, from the expression in Hoeï-li, a little to the westward of south from the capital. This would place Vinkhila in the Nizam's territories near a place marked Ortyal or Yelchal on our maps; but whether there are any remains there or not, I do not know. We know so little of the Hyderabad country. But so far as I can learn from photographs and personal communications, there is nothing at Warangal that seems older than the Pratapa Rudra dynasty, say eleventh or twelfth century. The present capital is about four miles south of the older one, and I see no reason for doubting but that a still more ancient one may be found, when looked for, 30 miles further north.

The situation of the capital of Danakachêka is described in the following terms, principally extracted from the Hoeï-li (page 188), as in this instance the fullest of our two authorities:—"A est de la capitale on a construit sur une montagne le couvent Pourvaçilâ Samghârâma, et à l'ouest de la ville on a élevé sur le côté opposé de la montagne le couvent Avaraçilâ Samghârâma. Un ancien roi de ce royaume l'avait construit en honneur de Bouddha, et y avait déployé toute la magnificence des palais de Ta-hia" (de la Bactriane), and the Si-yu-ki adds, "Il creusa la vallée et y pratiqua un chemin." A little further on it is said, "A une petite distance au sud de la ville, il y a une enorme rocher," or as the Si-yu-ki specifies, "Une grande caverne de montagne," where Bhavaviveka lived.

When I wrote the description of the Amravati Tope, in my work on Tree and Serpent Worship, all this was mysterious enough. The one thing that seemed clear was, that the Amravati Tope was the Avaraçilâ Samghârâma. But it was unfortunately situated close to the *east* side of the town of Daranicotta, and no possible site for the

Pourvaçilâ monastery had then been discovered. Worse than this, neither in Colonel Mackenzie's nor in any other maps could anything like the "enorme rocher" be found. It was in fact one of those puzzles that must be left for further research to solve. This has now fortunately been done in a report addressed to Government by the late J. A. C. Boswell, officiating collector of the district, and by some photographs by Captain Ross Thompson, which are now before me. From these we learn that to the eastward of Bezwarra, there is a high hill, on the top of which a white building may be seen in the photograph, occupying no doubt the site of the Pourvaçilâ convent. To the west of the town is a high mountain full of caves, abutting on the river; and 17 miles beyond that to the westward, the Amravati Tope or Avaraçilâ Samghârâma. But the most remarkable feature is, that immediately south of the town is a singular isolated rock or hill, "along whose base and sides," says Mr. Boswell, "there are the remains of a considerable number of rock caves and temples, evidently of Buddhist origin. There is a rock temple of two storeys close to the village which has been recently utilized as a granary." "In various places the figures of elephants and other animals, in the Buddhist style of representation, are to be seen depicted. At one place there is a Mantapam cut out of the rock, and supported by stone pillars, more solitary cells, and lastly a rock temple in four storeys of considerable proportions." It may be added, that neither was the report written nor the photographs taken with the smallest idea of proving any theory; but their united testimony proves, almost beyond the shadow of a doubt, Bezwarra to be the city Hiouen-Thsang describes.¹

¹ As neither General Cunningham nor I were aware, or had any means of knowing, of these local peculiarities when we wrote, neither of us are, I conceive, to blame that we accepted Daranicotta as the capital, instead of Bezwarra. But General Cunningham was certainly to blame when he called the district Majerika, and mixed up the history of the place with the legends of the Rama Grama relics and other untenable positions. Majerika is, I believe, only mentioned in the Mahawanso,* and its position may be gathered from the following extracts:—When

* Manjarika, which is evidently the same place, is mentioned in Spence Hardy's Eastern Monachism, p. 274. In the legend there quoted, it was the underground residence of the Naga King Maha Kala, who had seen the four Buddhas, and whom Asoka called by magic rites into his presence that he might see representations of them. This was accomplished by forging a golden fetter, which, being thrown on the ground, proceeded through a cleft that was formed in the earth to the Naga world, and fell at the feet of Maha Kala.

*Danakachêka to Barougatcheva.*¹

Leaving Bezwarra, our Pilgrim, according to Hœi-li, travelled south 1000 *li* to Djourya; according to the Si-yu-ki, the direction was south-west: but the discrepancy is easily explained, as, had he really travelled south, he would have fallen into the sea. For the first part of his journey he must consequently have gone in a south-westerly direction, though afterwards resuming his southern route. The object for which he was travelling was to get to the port of embarkation for Ceylon, and he consequently would follow the coast line as nearly as possible. Assuming this to be the case, the direction and distance would take us to Nellore, which is an important place,—whether old or not is not clear; but at all events a pot of gold coins of Trajan and

Dutthagamini had erected the Ruanwelli Dagoba for the reception of the Rama Grama relics, which had been carried off to Majerika by the Nagas (Mahawanso, p. 185), a priest, Sonuttara, was told off on the day previous to the ceremony to go to Majerika and fetch them, “when he heard, for the first time, the burst of the musical sounds which announced the procession to be in motion, instantly diving into the earth, and proceeding subterraneously to the land of the Nagas, then presented himself to the Naga-*raja*.” The latter, fearing the relics were to be taken from him, sent his nephew off to the foot of Mount Meru with them; but the thero, making a supernaturally long arm, possessed himself of the casket. Then saying (to Kâlo), “Naga, rest thou here, rending the earth, he reascended to his *pariwenô* at Anuradhapura” (p. 188), which he reached before the procession whose start he had listened to, before descending. One point that seems to have influenced General Cunningham was the wonderful magnificence of the last step of the Naga Stupa at Majerika, as it is described in the Mahawanso (p. 188). This, however, is a peculiarity of Ceylonese architecture. All the great buildings in Anuradhapura and Pollonaruwa have their last steps carved in the most elaborate manner. One is represented in the third volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, pl. 17, and I have photographs of half a dozen others even more elaborate than that one. But no such carved step occurs at Amravati, nor, so far as I know, in any temple on the Continent of India. It is, consequently, just such a hyperbole as a Ceylonese writer would use in describing the magnificence of the underground palace of the Naga Raja, but means nothing.

When General Cunningham assisted Mr. Prinsep in copying in vol. vi., pl. x., the Amravati inscriptions in the Calcutta Museum, both of them thought Amravati was Omrawuttî in Berar. General Cunningham retained the same belief in 1848, when he described the place as west of Nagpore (J.A.S.B., xvii., p. 43), and I believe was not aware of its true situation, or of the legends bearing upon it, till I told him in 1867. Yet, though my book was published two years before his, he abstains from all allusion to it, though he himself most kindly assisted in its production, and added an appendix. This is a matter of literary etiquette, and I should not allude to it if it were a merely personal question; but it is necessary, in the interests of science, to protest against the mixing up Majerika and Rama Grama legends with the facts as stated in my work, and confounding events which took place 157 B.C. with those which occurred nearly 500 years afterwards in the beginning of the fourth century of our era.

¹ Si-yu-ki, ii., pp. 116–153. Hœi-li, pp. 189–204.

Faustina was dug up there in 1787.¹ Both M. de St.-Martin and General Cunningham assume Djourya (Tchoulya, Si-yu-ki) represents Chola; and I do not see any reason for doubting but that it may have been so, though, according to the native traditions, we would hardly look for it so far north. From this place, "il entra au midi dans des forêts et des plaines desertes, et après avoir fait 1500 à 1600 *li*, arriva au royaume de Drâvida. Ce royaume a 6000 *li* de tour; la capitale, qui s'appelle Kantchîpoura, a un trentaine de *li* de circonférence," etc.

This has generally been assumed to be Conjeveram, and the name of that city was undoubtedly Kantchipura in ancient times; but that city is only 140 miles from Nellore, and the distance given, at 6 *li*, is 260 miles, and even at 7 *li*, 220. My conviction, therefore, is that we must go on to Nagapatam, which is just 260 miles from Nellore, more especially as this is the only place which will answer to the description of Hœi-li, who says (191), "La ville de Kantchîpoura est située sur un port de la mer, à la point de l'Inde méridionale, en face de royaume de Sinhala, où l'on peut arriver après trois jours de navigation." It was here, too, that he met the Ceylonese refugees, who told him of the death of the king, and dissuaded him from venturing across.

All this would fit admirably to Nagapatam; but nothing is more unlikely than that Ceylonese refugees should congregate at Conjeveram, and by no latitude of description could a city 35 miles from the nearest point of the shore be called a "port de la mer." My impression is, therefore, that there were two Kantchipuras, as there were two Kousoumapouras, and two Tamraliptis, and as we know there were two Kalyanis, one a capital, the other a port, and, as I hope presently to show, two Ballabhis.² In the same manner as we have two Kôsalas, two Nagpurs. In fact, few things seem more common in Indian Geography than the reduplication of important names.

¹ Hamilton, Gazetteer of India, *sub voce*.

² Tod, in his "Travels in Western India," p. 277, mentions that the Mount Satrunja, or Palitana, had 21 appellations, some of which he gives. I am afraid this is far from being a solitary instance of such exuberance.

From this point we have the testimony of Hoeï-li, which is final on such a question, that he turned northward. "De Dravida il revient au nord-ouest, en compagnie de 70 religieux, du royaume de Sinhala," etc. "Après avoir fait 1000 *li*, il arriva au royaume de Konkana Poura" (p. 201). And the Si-yu-ki (p. 146) uses nearly the same words, but does not give the direction. Both works, however, give intermediately a description of Malakoûta, which occupied the extreme southern portion of the peninsula. But as he never visited it, neither the details nor dimensions are to be depended upon. But the Si-yu-ki concludes (p. 124) with the following remark: "Lorsqu'on sort de Malakoûta, dans la direction du nord-est, sur les bords de la mer, on rencontre une ville, nommée Tcharitrapoura; c'est la route des voyageurs qui vont dans la royaume de Ceylon." Here we have a second Tcharitrapura, the pendant of that in Orissa, and evidently the same place as that called Kantchipura by Hoeï-li, and which certainly seems to be Nagapatam. That this was a Buddhist site I believe all will allow, and till within the last few years, a Buddhist temple did exist there. It has been utilized lately by the railway, like so many other of the antiquities of India. But I have seen drawings of it; and a woodcut of one of the last fragments of it that remained has been published by Colonel Yule, in his 'Marco Polo.'¹

From Kantchipura, wherever it was, our Pilgrim made three long journeys, till he crossed the Nerbudda. The country through which he was passing had not been visited by Buddha or any of his saints, and in fact had never been converted to Buddhism, and consequently contained little to interest him; and he passed through it rapidly, and perhaps also noted carelessly the direction in which he travelled or the distances. In the Si-yu-ki they are given as follows:—

From Dravida to Konkana Poura	2000 <i>li</i> north-west.
„ Konkana Poura to capital of Mahârâchtra ...	2400 to 2500 <i>li</i> „
„ Capital of Mahârâchtra to the crossing of the Nerbudda at Barougatcheva	1000 <i>li</i> west.
	<hr/> 5500

¹ The Book of Marco Polo, by Col. Henry Yule, C.B. (Murray, 1871.) vol. ii., p. 273.

The distances and directions given by Hoei-li are identical with those just quoted from the Si-yu-ki, except in the last instance, where, instead of "West," he makes the direction of the last journey "North-east," as will be noticed further on. Dividing this by 6, we have 900 to 916 miles, which is as nearly as may be the distance between Nagapatam and Baroache. If it is still contended that Conjeveram was the point of departure, we must divide by 7, which is hardly probable over so long a distance. This would alter considerably the position of the first station, and I do not know where it would place the second if it is to be on the banks "of a large river."

Taking it, as I suppose, from Nagapatam, the first stage would take us to the centre of the Mysore plateau, somewhere east of Bednore and about Holakaira, or even a little further eastward. This country always was a stronghold of Jainism, and it is here, consequently, if anywhere, that one would look for a pre-existing Buddhism. I am not, however, aware of any monument in the Mysore that can distinctly be called Buddhist; so cannot fix the site with anything like precision.

The next stage would take us nearly to Deoghur or Doulatabad, as the capital of the great Mahratta King Pulakesi. But the specification of the Si-yu-ki is distinct; his city was "*voisine d'une grande fleuve*" (p. 149), which in this country can only mean the Godavery. There are, however, Foolthamba, Toka, Paitan, or Padami, all old sites, and any one of which would answer the Pilgrim's distance.¹ The plateau is in fact one which always had a capital, whether it was

¹ According to an inscription partly deciphered by Dr. Bhau Daji, J.B.B.R.A.S. vol. ix., p. cxcix., the capital of Pulakesi, at the time of Hiouen-Tsang's visit, is said to have been Vatapipuri. The name is new to me, and I do not find it on any map I have access to; so, until the Doctor chooses to enlighten us, we are not much wiser than we were. The one condition, if it is to be the place at which Pulakesi was residing when Hiouen-Tsang visited him, is, that it should be within 150 or 170 miles of Baroache, which is one of the fixed points in our itineraries, and situated on the banks of a river. So new a name, however, springing up in so authentic a form, is another of the 1001 instances which occur in this investigation, to show how worthless nominal similarities are. It may either be a new site altogether, or only a new name for an old city.

It was mentioned by Sir Walter Elliot, J.R.A.S., Vol. IX., p. 9, but even he was ignorant of its position.

Deoghur, Arungabad, or Ahmednuggur; it was marked out by nature as a site for a great city, and here we must look for it. The direction, it is true, from the last station is more north than north-west; but in so long a route I hold it to be quite impossible that any traveller could, without instruments, keep his bearings correctly, and without better maps than he could possibly have possessed. In this case, such a deviation as this seems to me of no practical importance.

From Foolthamba to Baroache is exactly 166 miles; the direction is north-west. But here we come to a conflict between our two authorities, which betrays an error somewhere, which it is difficult to correct with confidence. From Pula-kesi's capital, Hoeï-li—generally our most trustworthy guide—makes him go "*environ 1000 li au nord-est*" to the place "*Baroukatchêva, où il passa la rivière Narmmadâ.*" But if Baroukatchêva is Baroache, as every one assumes it is, this is impossible. Any place 166 miles south-west of Baroache would have been far out at sea. The Si-yu-ki (p. 153) gives the same distance, but makes the direction "*west.*" This is probable, and approaches the truth; but still, unless we are allowed to compound the two authorities, and consider Hoeï-li's north-east as a mistake or mis-transcription of north-west, I do not see how we are to reconcile the facts with the description; doing so, it all becomes quite correct. This, however, is no arbitrary correction, as we find him describing the next journey, as we shall see presently, as "*encore au nord-ouest,*" showing clearly that here at least we have an error of transcription or translation.

Before leaving this part, it may be well to point out a passage which, I think, without doubt, applies to the Caves of Ajunta. In the Si-yu-ki, p. 151, it is said, "*Sur les frontières orientales du royaume, il y a une grande montagne, qui offre des sommets entassés les uns sur les autres, des chaînes de rochers, des pics à doubles étages, et des crêtes escarpées. Anciennement il y avoit un couvent, qui avoit été construit dans une sombre vallée. Ses batimens élevés, et ses salles profondes occupaient des larges ouvertures dans des rochers, et s'appuyaient sur des pics, ses pavillons et ses tours à*

doubles étages, étoient adossées aux cavernes et regardaient la vallée." Considering that our Pilgrim never saw the place, this description reproduces the main features of that group of caves with marvellous fidelity, and leaves in my mind no doubt but that it was the group he was describing.

*From Baroukatchèva to Ballabhi.*¹

Passing the Nerbudda to the northward, we enter on the third, and by far the least satisfactory division of Hiouen-Thsang's travels. The journeys in this part are no longer consecutive, and it is never possible to follow him step by step, as could be done from the time he entered the Caubul valley till he crossed the Nerbudda. It is difficult to guess whether this may arise from the notes of this part of his travels having perished in the accident that occurred when he crossed the Indus on his return home (Hoei-li, p. 263), or whether it may have been that the notes of this part were less carefully kept than those of his previous journeys. Both these causes may have conspired to this effect: but I am inclined to lay considerable stress on the latter. Neither Buddha nor any of his immediate disciples visited Western India. Buddhist sites and traditions were consequently rare; and it is difficult to understand what could have induced our traveller to make such long and difficult journeys, as he did, through countries which to him must have been singularly uninteresting, if he did make them at all. My own impression is that though the pronoun "il," and not "on," is constantly used, it must in this part of his travels be taken with considerable qualification; and though in some instances he may have performed the journeys narrated, he certainly did not do so in all instances: and we must consequently receive the statements of our author with the greatest possible caution.

Another difficulty occurs from the summary mode in which the whole is treated in this division. Hoei-li, for instance, disposes of six journeys, extending over 6000 *li*, in the space of a single page (pp. 207-8), and we consequently miss all those

¹ Hoei-li, pp. 204-206. Si-yu-ki, ii., pp. 154-162.

local incidents and features which are so invaluable towards fixing places in the earlier parts of the narrative. I by no means wish to assert that there is no geography to be got out of this division of the work. On the contrary, I fancy a great deal may be learnt, but it must be by a totally different mode of investigation from that applicable to the earlier portions, and must always, I fear, remain much less certain or satisfactory.

At present I propose to examine only one short journey in order to illustrate these remarks, and trust it will be sufficient for that purpose. From Baroache the Pilgrim went to Ballabhi. According to the usually received theory of the site of that city, the distance was 60 miles west; according to my view, 160 north: and there seems every reason for supposing that, as in all the previous instances, he took the usual and most direct road.

If Ballabhi was situated where it is generally supposed it was placed, he must either have taken a boat and crossed the gulf of Cambay to get to it, or he must have travelled 60 miles in a northerly, and then an equal distance in a southerly direction to reach it. There is not, however, any trace of any such journeys in either of the works under review, so unless we are prepared to reject the whole as an inexplicable riddle—which it may be—we must look to the site of that Capital elsewhere.

Turning first then to the Hoeï-li, we have the following facts (p. 204), "*De là (Baroukatcheva), marchant encore au nord-ouest (a tolerable proof of the correctness of our last determination), il fit 2000 li , et arriva au royaume de Malva.*" From what he says of this country, and of its late king Siladitya, it seems difficult to doubt but that this should be Malva and its capital Ougein. But the distance is only 200 miles: whereas 2000 li is more than 300, and the direction of Ougein is N.E., not N.W., and Ougein is also almost undoubtedly mentioned afterwards as the capital of Oudjana (Hoeï-li, p. 207; Si-yu-ki, ii., p. 167); so that nothing will fit: and we know besides, from the Japanese map attached to the second volume, that the editors certainly meant north-west,

and not north-east. To proceed therefore. From this place, "il fit 2400 à 2500 *li* au nord-ouest, et arriva au royaume de Atali." "De là, il fit 300 *li* au nord-ouest, et arriva à Kita." "De là, il fit 1000 *li* au nord, et arriva au royaume de Ballabhi." If any one will take the trouble to protract these distances and directions on the map, he will find the first takes him to Omercote, or some place near it; the next to Kelat, and the last to somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kandahar, where Ballabhi certainly was not, some 900 miles, instead of 60 or 160, and quite out of India. When we turn to the Si-yu-ki, it does not help us much. The journey to Malva is given in precisely the same terms; so is that to Atali. But here he leaves the traveller, and starts again from Malva. It must also be remarked that on the previous start from Malva, the following words occur, "En partant de ce royaume au sud-ouest, il arriva au confluent de deux rivières, fit ensuite 2400 à 2500 *li* à Atali." There is also another fact mentioned, which is important. Speaking of the capital of Malva, he says, "qu'elle est située au sud-est de la rivière Mahi" (p. 155); and in the second departure from Malva (p. 161), it is said, "partant de ce royaume, il fit environ 300 *li* au nord-ouest, et arriva au royaume de Khatch." From these sentences we glean a few facts that may serve to solve the problem we have before us. The first is that the capital of Malva was situated to the south-east of the Mahi or Mhye river. This description would answer admirably for the situation of Baroda, or some city in its neighbourhood, but for no other that I know of. It will not answer for Dhar, as General Cunningham suggests (p. 491), for that city is a long way from even the head waters of that stream, and so long as it runs towards the north, it is a dry nullah for nine months of the year, and only becomes such a stream as any one would refer to when it passes Banswarra on its way southward.

Again, on the first departure from Malva, the Si-yu-ki states that the Pilgrim went a certain distance—how far is not stated—to the south-west, to the junction of two seas. This description would not answer, so far as I know, to any

place in this neighbourhood except to Cambay. The two estuaries of the Mahi and Subramutti must, 1200 years ago, have been much more important than they now are, and would fully justify that denomination; and though west from Baroda the Pilgrim must have turned south-west from the head of the bay to reach the city, from which the 2500 *li* to Atali are measured.

On the second departure from Malva, the distance is given as 300 *li* to Kita, which again would answer perfectly for the distance from Baroda to Cambay. The direction now given is north-west, and if that is deemed important, some of the nearest cities south of Baroda must be substituted; but it seems near enough for our present purpose. Then comes the *instantia crucis*. "En partant de ce pays, il fit environ 1000 *li* au nord, et arriva à Ballabhi."

This would take us to the neighbourhood of Sidpur, Anhulwara Puttun, Chandravati, and a group of old ruined cities that exist and always have existed in the neighbourhood of Deesa. If the site usually assigned to Ballabhi is insisted upon, this is fatal. 1000 *li*, or 150 or 160 miles south of Bhownuggur we are out at sea, opposite Bombay harbour, where certainly there was no Kita from which the Pilgrim could measure his "1000 *li* north." Either, it seems to me, we must reject his text altogether, or adopt Cambay as Kita, and some spot near Anhulwara as the site of the old capital of Ballabhi. At the same time it appears to me that the identification of the site near Bhownuggur with that of the old capital rests on the shallowest evidence. Colonel Tod heard it so called, but never visited it.¹ It was afterwards carefully examined by Dr. Nicholson, and a detailed account of it published in the Journal of the R.A.S. xiii., p. 146, et seqq. From what he says, there seems to have been nothing either grand or ancient about the place, and since then the principal finds have been Mahomedan and modern coins.²

¹ Travels in Western India, p. 268.

² He mentions, however, one tradition, which, as far as it goes, seems to point to the truth. The sons of Govindaso, who received the image of Parsnath from the thief, resided at Puran Puttun, which was 40 *coss* distant from Wullee Puttun, the name by which the city is known which Tod identified with Ballabhi.

I am not, however, at all prepared to contend that there may not have been a city called Ballabhi near Bhojnuggur in Guzerat.¹ On the contrary, as there were Kalliani the capital, and Kalliani the port,—Kantchipura the capital, and the port of the same name,—Tamralipti and Tamluk,—and the two Kousoumapuras,—so there probably was Ballabhi the capital, and Ballabhi the port; or what appears to me most probable is, that, when Ballabhi was destroyed in 746,² a portion of the inhabitants fled southwards, and established themselves at Wullee, and took with them the name of their old home. But of one thing I feel certain, which is, that the neighbourhood of Bhojnuggur never was the seat of a great capital. The metropolis of the country was always

¹ This seems certainly to have been the case in Al Biruni's time, for he says, "Ballaba, qui a donné aussi son nom à une ère, était prince de la ville de Ballaba, au midi de Anhalouara, à environ trente *yodjanas* de distance." (Thomas's Prinsep, i., 269.) If my view is correct, the first was the old, the second the new, city of that name.

² When an error once gets introduced in a standard work, it is copied and repeated without examination, till it becomes so completely established that it is almost impossible to get it afterwards corrected. I hope, therefore, I may be allowed again to protest against Colonel Tod's date for the destruction of Ballabhi. All he did assert was, "that the records preserved by the Jains," apparently the Satrunjaya Mahatmaya—which for such a purpose is absolutely worthless—assert that Ballabhi was destroyed by the Parthians (properly the barbarians) in 205 of the Ballabhi Samvat, for which he adds 319, making 524 A.D. It is quite needless, therefore, General Cunningham speculating whether the event was dated from the Samvat or Saka era (p. 318). It is from the Ballabhi era, and from no other, and it rests on no inscription, no extraneous history or tradition; simply on the authority of some worthless and nameless Jain scribe, and it is contradicted by the most positive evidence, the one we are at present concerned with being quite sufficient. In 640, 116 years after its reputed destruction, Hiuen-Tsang visited it, and found, as one would expect from the chronology (J.R.A.S., new series, iv., p. 90), that a King Dhrouvapata was on the throne, and no symptom of decay was visible in its long period of prosperity.

The truth seems to be, and Tod himself admits it (pp. 149–152),* that Ballabhi was destroyed, and Anhalwara-puttun rose on its ruins in the Samvat year 802, or A.D. 746. Every scrap of information we have, every inscription, every tradition, point to the middle of the eighth century as the period of a revolution which changed the face of India. The great Chalukya and Canouge dynasties were then eclipsed—the Moslems, who were fast advancing to the conquest of India, were driven back to the Indus—Buddhism practically disappeared, and Siva and Vishnu take the place of the mild ascetic. The only written record of this great event is a distorted paraphrase of it in the Raja Tarangini, where it figures as the Indian wars and conquests of Lali aditya (A.R. xv., p. 44 et seq.); but Elliot's inscriptions (J.R.A.S. iv., 7, et seq.), and above all Tod's Annals, everywhere point to this as the end of the old and the beginning of the new state of things in India. It may have been, as above stated, in 746, or it may be 10 years later; but till we have more exact information, it will be better to speak in round numbers, and take 750 A.D. as the date of the great revolution.

* See also Travels in Western India, p. 149.

situated between the head of the Gulf of Cambay and Mount Abu, and whether its name was Ballabhi, Sidpur, Anhulwara, or Ahmedabad, it was there, or thereabouts, that the supreme power was situated; and there we must look for the remains of that great city, if ever we expect to find them.¹

If this is so, it is quite evident that we must reject the journey from Baroache to Atali as a geographical determination inserted in the wrong place, and having no real bearing on the Pilgrim's progress from the capital of Pulakesi to that of Dhrouva Patou, the Druva Sena of the Indian lists.²

It is hardly necessary to pursue this branch of the subject further at present. What has been said above is probably sufficient to show that the journeys detailed in this part of Hiouen-Thsang's work must be treated differently from those in previous parts of his route. They may be, and probably are, all true, within certain limits; but we get into hopeless and irremediable confusion, when we either alter the text to suit our own preconceived ideas, or attempt to put journeys into a sequence one after the other, when in fact they are parallel to one another. The fact seems to be, that though some of them are personal experiences, the greater part can only be considered as geographical descriptions.

¹ If Dr. Stevenson's conjecture could be maintained, it would be an easy solution of the difficulty. In J.B.B.R.A.S., vol. viii., p. 51, he says, "I suppose it refers to Anandapoora, so called by the Jains, and afterwards by the Hindus named Valabhi, the capital of the well-known sovereignty of that name, on the north side of the Gulf of Cambay." The objection to this theory is that both Hsœi-li (p. 207) and the Si-yu ki (ii., p. 164) mention Anandapoura as a separate capital 700 li N.W. from Ballabhi. The whole, however, it appears to me, is only another instance of perpetual shuffling of names of cities which are so frequently met with in these inquiries, and which, in fact, is what makes them so difficult.

² Thomas, Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, i., p. 252, et seqq.

ART. X.—*Northern Buddhism.* [Note from Colonel H. YULE,
addressed to the Secretary.]

THE inclosed is an extract from a letter which Mr. B. H. Hodgson did me the honour to write to me about two years ago, in reference to some passages in a paper on the Senbyú Pagoda in Burma, which appeared in the Society's Journal for 1870, with additional remarks by the late Mr. C. Horne and by Mr. Fergusson.¹ I inclose the original sketch which Mr. Hodgson put into my hands along with the letter, authorizing me to make what use of them seemed best.

They have been kept by me since, in hope of some opportunity of communicating them to the Society in a less isolated manner than now; but as none such has occurred, it seems desirable not to delay longer submitting them to the Society, in the hope that they will authorize the publication of the drawing in their *Journal*, with these extracts from the letter of one whom we all hold in so much respect. I am, etc.,

H. YULE.

Palermo, September 13th, 1872.

Extract of letter from B. H. HODGSON, Esq., written in 1870.

"With reference to your paper in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. IV. Part II. (N.S.), I send you a sketch of a mutilated figure from Surakarta.² It is beyond all question a representation of Padma Pani, the son of Amitabha, the Dhyáni Buddha. There is a still more perfect image of the same personage to be found now at Karnagarh near Bhálgapúr.³ No sophistry can argue away the evidence thus afforded, especially if taken in connexion with what my old Saugata Pandit reported as to the images seen by him at Buddh Gya. Let it be granted to Messrs. Horne and Fergusson that all the several attitudes of the Buddha are canonical. But still the evidence deduced from an in-

¹ See Vol. IV. (N.S.) Part II. pp. 420-422, 423-429. Mr. Hodgson's letter is not dated, but he put it into my hands, I think, in the summer of 1870.

² See the accompanying plate.

³ [See Mr. Hodgson's paper in the J.R.A.S., vol. xviii., p. 396.]

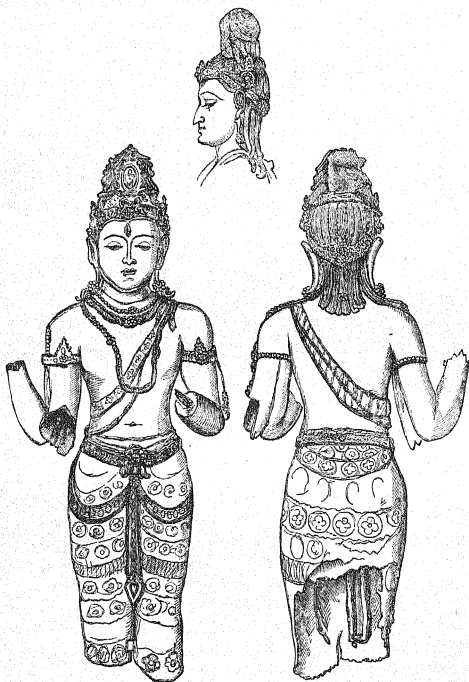


IMAGE FOUND IN OCTOBER, 1855, NEAR THE VILLAGE OF TEKARRAN, IN THE RESIDENCY SOORAKARTA.

Description.—Hollow, of a mixed metal, perhaps brass and tin, cast round an iron skeleton. Coated with a thin layer of best silver. The ornaments are partly gilt.

variable and universal specialization of, not one but many, traits of the figures, is surely significant, and we have to distinguish Dhyánis, (1) position in the temples (base of hemisphere), (2) disposition of the hands, (3) supporters, (4) cognizance or *china*, placed between the supporters, (5) colour where used. Take all these, remembering that the distinctive use of them is invariable, and we have, I think, something more of evidence than Messrs. Horne and Fergusson seem disposed to recognize. And is not the fact that three great convocations were held in India to settle disputed points of faith proof enough that Southern Buddhism was not of that *single* type insisted on by Palí students of the Ceylonese type? And why not one of these types the Dhyáni school of Nepál and the North?

"The late Governor of Java, Baron Sloet, some while back, sent me a handsome dagger in acknowledgment of the light I had thrown on Javanese Buddhism, by my expositions of that faith as still extant in Nepál.

"It may be that Buddhism in Nepál is comparatively recent, not earlier than the second century of Christ, and that this type got to Java, avoiding Ceylon, etc., at a still later date, even in the eleventh or twelfth century. But still the comparative weight of evidence is, on the whole, in favour of *not* drawing the hard and fast line between Northern and Southern Saugatism, and of not ignoring the canonical character of the former.

"I have written the above in a hurry, meaning to tell you *vicá voce* what I had to say."

ART. XI.—*Hwen Thsang's Account of the Principalities of Tokháristán, etc.*

IN my recent paper on Hwen Thsang's Geography of Tokháristán, I made what may have seemed a rash suggestion, that the *Folichisitangna* of the Traveller, a territory at the foot of Hindu Kush, might represent the country of the *Parâchis* of Baber. But the suggestion has received corroboration from a passage that I recently observed in the Travels of Sidi 'Ali (Journ. As., tom. ix., p. 203). The admiral being at Kábul, and about to cross the Hindu Kush, the Governor sent *Mir Nezir, chief of the Tribes of Farâshi and Bashâtsi* (فراشي and بشائي) to demand 300 men of those tribes to conduct the horses and camels across the Pass. The party then proceeded by Karâbâgh and Chârikarân to Parwân. There they entered on the territory of *Mir Nezir*, and found the tribesmen assembled. This seems to show that the territory of the Farâshis (or Parâchis) was about Parwân, i.e. close to Hupiân, which is supposed to be the *Hupinah* of Hwen-Thsang, called by him the capital of *Folichisitangna*. *Bashâtsi* is, I imagine, a clerical error for *Bashâi* (بشاي), the well-known name of a tribe (*Pashâis*) which I have supposed to be possibly connected with that of the adjoining kingdom of Kapiça or Kapisha.

September 13th, 1872.

H. YULE.

ART. XII.—*The Brhat-Saṁhitā; or, Complete System of Natural Astrology of Varāha-mihira.* Translated from Sanskrit into English by Dr. H. KERN.

(Continued from p. 91.)

CHAPTER LIII.¹

On Architecture.

1. To gratify clever astrologers, I now proceed to compose a work on the art of building, such as it has been transmitted from the Creator to our days, through an unbroken series of sages.²

¹ The preceding chapter, on boils and their consequences, has been omitted, the contents thereof being of no interest whatever.

² According to Utpala: Garga, etc.; more explicit is the statement in a work bearing the title of Ārī-Brahmoka-Viṣvakarmaprakāśika (sc. śāstra), where we read, 13, 10, sqq.:

इति प्रोक्तं वास्तुशास्त्रं पूर्वं गर्गाय धीमते ।
 गर्गात्पराशरः प्राप तस्मात्प्राप बृहद्रथः ॥
 बृहद्रथाद्विश्वकर्मा प्राप्तवान्वासुशास्त्रकम् ।
 स विश्वकर्मा जगतो हितायाकथयत्पुनः ॥
 वासुदेवादिषु पुनर्भूलोकं भक्तितो ब्रवीत् ।

 अथ स विमलविद्यो विश्वकर्मा महात्मा
 सकलगुणवरिष्ठः सर्वशास्त्रार्थवेत्ता ।
 सकलसुरगणानां सूत्रधारः कृतात्मा
 भवननिवसतां सच्छास्त्रमेतच्चकार ॥

This passage, with many others, shows that Garga, Parāçara, and the like, are mere mythological beings, of exactly the same historical value with Brahman, Viṣvakarman, Vāsudeva; cf. ch. i. 3, footnote. In the opening stanzas of the Viṣvak. we find:

यदुक्तं शम्भुना पूर्वं वास्तुशास्त्रं पुरातनम् ॥

2. There was, it is affirmed, some Being obstructing with his bulk both worlds, but on a sudden he was subdued by the host of gods and hurled down.

3. Of the several parts of his body, each is subjected to the particular deity by which it was attacked. It is that Being of immortal substance, who by the Creator was destined to be the dwelling-house personified (*alias* House-spirit).

4. The largest of the five houses of a king should be of 108 cubits (*hasta*) in width; the following, of 100, 92, 84, 76. The length always exceeds the width by one-quarter (is, consequently: 135, 125, 115, 105, 95).

5. The first mansion of a commander-in-chief measures 64 cubits in breadth; the next following, six cubits less, and so on. The length of each is equal to the width augmented by one-sixth.

6. The five houses of a minister have a breadth of 60, 56, 52, 48, 44, severally; the length is equal to the width increased by one-eighth. The dimension of the dwellings of a queen is half that of a minister's.

7. The width of the first mansion of a prince royal is of 80 cubits, which number must be diminished by six for each subsequent house; the length is equal to the width increased by one-third. The measures for the dwellings of the younger princes are half those for the prince royal.

8. The measure for the houses of provincial governors, high-born men and king's officers,¹ is equal to the difference

पराशरः प्राह बृहद्रथाय बृहद्रथः प्राह च विश्वकर्मे ।
स विश्वकर्मा जगतां हिताय प्रोवाच शास्त्रं ब्रह्मेदयुक्तम् ॥

विश्वकर्मेवाच

वास्तुशास्त्रं प्रवक्ष्यामि लोकानां हितकाम्यया ।

The Viçvak. seems to be a compilation, for most of the passages quoted by Utpala, either from what he terms Kiraṇākhyā-Tantra, or from Garga, from Br̥haspati, Viçvakarman himself, Kāçyapa, etc., recur in the Viçvak., a copy of which is in the translator's possession. Cf. st. 30, footnote.

¹ The wording of the text would admit of a translation, "provincial

between the numbers assigned to a king and a minister. The difference between the numbers for a king's and a prince royal's houses, gives the measure for the dwellings of guardians of the interior apartments, courtesans, and artisans.

9. The houses of all inspectors and functionaries have the same dimensions with the king's treasury and pleasure-house. The difference between the numbers stated for a prince royal and a minister, gives the measure for overseers of manufactories and envoys.

10. The first house of a court astrologer, king's priest, or physician, has 40 cubits in breadth, to which number must be added four for each subsequent house ; the length is equal to the width increased by one-sixth.

11. It will be well to determine the height of a building so as to coincide with the breadth. Of buildings consisting of a sole room, the length may be double the width.

12. The breadth of the houses of a private man from one of the four classes is 32 cubits, which must be diminished by four for each next following, down to 16.¹ A lower amount of cubits is only for the very lowest people.

13. The length amounts to the breadth $+\frac{1}{10}$, in the case of Brahmins ; to the same $+\frac{1}{8}$, in the case of Kshatriyas ; to the same $+\frac{1}{6}$, for Vaiçyas ; and to the width increased by $\frac{1}{4}$, for Çûdras.

governors and superior king's officers." As in st. 14, *rājapurusha* denotes a person of much inferior rank, such a translation would seem preferable. But the Comm. takes the words as we have done above, and the parallel passage in Viçvak. has :

नृपमन्त्रिगृहाणाञ्च अन्तरे यत्प्रमाणकम् ।

सामन्तराजपुत्राणां प्रवराणां गृहं स्मृतम् ॥

¹ The purport of this elliptical, or rather wholly inadequately expressed statement is, that a private Brahman may have five houses, the first of 32, the second of 28, the third of 24, the fifth of 16 c. ; a private Kshatriya may have four houses, of 28, 24, 20, and 16 c., respectively ; a private Vaiçya three, of 24, 20 and 16 respectively ; a private Çûdra may have two dwellings, of 20 and 16 c. in breadth.

14. The treasury and pleasure-house have a dimension equal to the difference between the numbers assigned to the houses of the king and of the chief commander. The difference between the measure for a chief commander and that of a private man from one of the four classes, gives the measure for king's officers.¹

15. The dwellings of persons from mixed classes, like Pāraçavas, etc.,² have dimensions equal to half the sum of the measures for the two classes (to whose intermingling they owe their origin). A house, the dimension whereof is either below or above the legitimate one, occasions evil to all.

16. There is no fixed measure for cattle houses, monasteries, granaries, arsenals, and firerooms, but the authorities in architecture do not approve of a height upwards of 100 cubits.

17. Add the number of 70 to those for the breadth of the mansions of the king and the commander-in-chief. Write down the sum, at two places. Divide it, at one place, by 14; this gives the measure for a hall. Divide the same sum by 35; the quotient is the measure of the terrace.³

¹ That is to say: if an officer belongs to the Brahmanical class, the difference meant is that between the measure of the chief commander's house and a private Brahman's; if an officer be a Kshatriya, we are directed to subtract the number allotted to a private Kshatriya's house from the measure of the commander's mansion; and so forth.

² The Pāraçava class traces, theoretically, or rather fancifully, its origin to the intermarriage of a Brahman and a Çûdra woman. The measure for the former being 32, for the latter 20, it follows that a Pāraçava's house measures $\frac{32+20}{2} = 26$ in breadth.—Comm. ब्राह्मणेन सूद्रायां जातः पारश्वः । एवं वैश्यायां जातो भटः (v. l. भूताः कष्टः । र. भूर्जकष्टः) । क्षत्रियायां जातो मूर्धावसिक्तः । This does not wholly agree with Manu's theory.

³ The same is more plainly expressed in Viçvak. :

प्रमितं लेखशालं तु शुभदं तत् प्रकीर्तितम् ।

सेनापतिनृपादीनां सप्तत्या सहिते द्वते ॥

18. In the houses of 32 cubits' width (being those of private Brahmans, etc.), the halls are 4 cub. 17 digits; 4 cub. 3 dig.; 3 cub. 15 dig.; 3 cub. 13 dig.; and 3 cub. 4 digits.

19. The terraces for the same are, with a steady amount of decrease: 3 cubits, 19 digits; 3 cub. 8 dig.; 2 cub. 20 dig.; 2 cub. 18 dig.; and 2 cub. 3 digits.

20. Outside the dwelling one should make a gallery, being in width a third part of the hall. If the gallery be in front (and to the east), such a building is termed one with a turban.

21. Where the gallery is behind, the house is styled one with a back-support; ¹ where it is on the sides, the building is one with side supports; where there are galleries all around, the edifice is said to be a well-supported one. All of them are approved by the authorities in architecture.²

व्यासे चतुर्दशहते शालामानं विनिर्दिशेत् ।

पञ्चत्रिंशद्वृते न्यत्रालिन्दमानं भवेच्चतत् ॥

About *alinda* the Comm. has: अलिन्दशब्देन शालाभिन्नेर्बाह्ये या गमनिका जालकावृताङ्गणसम्मुखा क्रियते ॥ The word might as well be rendered by 'balcony,' 'gallery.'

¹ In the text सायाश्रय is a misprint for सापाश्रय; *apāgraya* is properly "anything to fall back upon, a support from behind;" further, a pillow upon which the hind part of the head is resting; e.g. in *Duṣakumāra*, 90, 13.

² Comm.: तथाच किरणाय तन्ने

शालातो यस्युतीयांशेन कार्या तु वीथिका ।

यद्यग्रतो भवेद्दीधी सोष्णीषं नाम तद्बृहम् ॥

पश्चात् सापाश्रयं नाम सावष्टम्भं तु पार्श्वयोः ।

समन्ताद्यदि याता सा तदा सुस्थितमुच्यते ॥

The Viçvak. has here with some variation in the wording:

शालात्रिभागतुल्याच कर्तव्या वीथिका बहिः ।

भवनात्पूर्वतो ऽष्णीषं (!) पश्चात्सापाश्रयं भवेत् ।

सापष्टम्भं पार्श्वयोस्तु सर्वत्र सुस्थितं भवेत् ।

22. The height of (the first storey of) the edifice must be a sixteenth of the width, with addition of four cubits.¹ The altitude of each following storey is to be lessened by one-twelfth.

23. A sixteenth part of the breadth gives the measure for the wall of all buildings made of bricks; as for houses of wood, there is no choice.²

24. Add to the number of cubits assigned to the houses of a king and a chief commander (as well as others mentioned in st. 6-9) one-eleventh, then seventy. Equal to this sum, in digits, is the height of the door; half of it gives the width.

25. In the case of private Brahmans, etc., take one-fifth of the number of cubits, adding 18; to this sum again add one-eighth. The resulting number expresses the width of the door in digits; the height is thrice the width.³

26. The thickness of the two side-frames of a door is as many digits as the altitude numbers cubits. Once and a half that measure gives the thickness of the threshold and upper timber.

27. The breadth of all four is equal to an eightieth part

¹ Consequently, the breadth of the king's house being 108, the height will amount to $\frac{108}{16} + 4$ cubits; making 10 cub. 18 digits.

² R. न विकल्पः for सविकल्पः

³ A rough measuring only is intended; e.g. the first house of the king numbers 108 cubits; to this we should add 10, being nearly $\frac{1}{11}$ of 108; to the sum 118 adding 70, we get 188; the door then is 188 digits high. As for private persons, the first house of a Brahman has a breadth of 32 cubits. We are directed to take one-fifth of it, but the meaning is, we should roughly take 6; adding 18 to it, we get 24; again adding $\frac{24}{8} = 3$, we get 27, being the number of digits for the width of the door; the height comes to 81.—Instead of द्विगुण read चिगुण, the Viçvak. has:

नृपसेनापतिगृहमष्टाशीतिः शतैर्युता ।

अङ्गुलानि द्वारमानं प्रवदन्ति मणीषिणः ॥

विप्रादीनं तथा सप्तविंशतिस्वङ्गुलानि च ।

द्वारस्य [मानं] तत्प्रोक्तं चिगुणोच्छायमुच्यते ॥

of seven times the door's height. The eightieth part of nine times the altitude (of the storey) gives the width of a column at the bottom; this diminished by one-tenth is the width of the column at the top.

28. A column with wholly square shaft is termed Rucaka; one with eight angles, a Diamond; one with sixteen sides, a Double-diamond; one with thirty-two angles, a "grooved column"; a round one is called a Cylinder.

29. When you divide the whole column into nine parts, one part will be the pedestal; the second, the base. The capital and also the upper lip must be made so as to form one part, each of them.¹

30. Equal to the thickness of the column is that of the architraves; the thickness of the superior cross-beams and upper rafters is lessened by one quarter, again and again.²

31. An edifice with uninterrupted terraces on every side is termed Sarvatobhadra (*i.e.* goodly on every side); such a one is fit for kings and gods; and ought to have four entrances.³

32. Nandyāvarta⁴ is the name of a building with terraces that from the wall of the room extend to the extremity in a direction from east to south (*alias* from left to right). It must have doors on every side, except the west.

33. The Vardhamāna has a terrace before the (chief) entrance, extending to the end; then, when you proceed in a direction from left to right, another beautiful terrace, and

¹ Comm.: तथाच किरणाख्ये तन्त्रे

विभज्य नवधा स्तम्भं कुर्यादुद्ग्रहणं घटम्

कमलं चोत्तरोष्ठं तु भागे-भागे प्रकल्पयेत् ॥

Almost the same in Viçvak.; all this is exceedingly vague. Cf. Rám Ráz, Archit. p. 28, sqq.

² This stanza and the following occur also in the Viçvak.; as stanzas in Āryā are found nowhere else in that work, the verses must have been taken from our author.

³ Cf. Rám Ráz, Arch. p. 23, where Sarvatobhadra is the term to denote a village built upon an analogous principle.

⁴ Both this and the three following terms denote certain figures.

thereon, again, another in the aforesaid direction. - No southern door should be made in it.

34. The Svastika is auspicious, if it have the entrance on the east side, and one continual terrace along the west side, at the ends whereof begin two other terraces going from west to east, while between the extremities of the latter lies a fourth terrace.¹

35. The Rucaka has a western and eastern terrace running to the end, and between their extremities two others. A northern door in it brings evil; doors on any other side are auspicious.

36. The Nandyâvarta and Vardhamâna are the very best of all; the Svastika and Rucaka are of middling quality; the Sarvatobhadra is suitable for kings and the like.

37. An edifice with three halls, wanting as it does a northern hall, is styled Hiranyanâbha, and insures luck. One without an eastern hall is named Sukshetra, and brings prosperity.

38. A building lacking a southern hall is called Culli; it causes loss of property. One in which there is no western hall, the so-called Pakshaghna, occasions the loss of children and enmity.

39, 40, 41. A house with only a western and southern hall is termed Siddhârtha; one with a western and northern hall, Yamasûrya; with a northern and eastern, Daṇḍa; with an eastern and southern, Vâta; with an eastern and western, Gr̥hacullî; with a southern and northern hall, Kâca. In Siddhârtha there will be acquisition of money; in Yamasûrya, the death of the householder; in Daṇḍa, death by way of punishment; in Vâta there is always excitement occasioned by quarrels; in Culli, will be loss of property, and in Kâca discord amongst kindred.

42. In order to divide (the ground-plan of a house) into

¹ R. विधृत for विवृत, and शुभदम्. Comm. तथाच गर्गः

पश्चिमोऽन्तगतोऽलिन्दः प्रागन्तौ द्वौ तदुत्थितौ ।

अन्यस्तन्मध्ये विधृतः प्राग्द्वारं स्वस्तिकं शुभम् ॥

eighty-one squares, draw ten lines from east to west, and ten others from north to south. Thirteen deities occupy the interior; thirty-two are stationed in the outer compartments.¹

43. (The latter are:) Agni, Parjanya, Jayanta, Indra, Sūrya, Satya, Bhṛ̥ṣa, Antariksha, and Anila, the first-named occupying the corner in the north-east, and the rest (the compartments from the top to the bottom) in regular succession, while Anila keeps the south-east corner.²

<i>Roga</i>	<i>Ahi</i>	<i>Mu.</i>	<i>Bhal</i>	<i>So.</i>	<i>Bhu.</i>	<i>Adi.</i>	<i>Diti</i>	<i>Agni</i>
<i>Pāpa</i> <i>ya.</i>	<i>Ru</i> <i>dra</i>	<i>khyā</i>	<i>lāṭa</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>jaga</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>Āpah</i>	<i>Parj.</i>
<i>Ṣoṣha</i>	<i>Rāja</i> <i>ya.</i>	<i>Prthvi</i>	<i>dhara</i>	<i>Āpav.</i>	<i>Jayanta</i>			
<i>Asura</i>	<i>Mi</i>	<i>Brahm</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>Ar</i>	<i>Indra</i>			
<i>Varuṇa</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Brahm</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>Sūrya</i>			
<i>Kusumad</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>Brahm</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>Satya</i>			
<i>Sugrīva</i>	<i>Indra</i>	<i>Viv</i>	<i>asava</i>	<i>nt</i>	<i>Sav</i>	<i>Bhṛ̥ṣa</i>		
<i>Dauv</i>	<i>Jaya</i>	<i>Bhṛ̥ṅga</i>	<i>Gān</i>	<i>Ya</i>	<i>Bṛ</i>	<i>Vi</i>	<i>Sā</i> <i>vitrā</i>	<i>Antar.</i>
<i>Pit</i>	<i>Mṛga</i>	<i>rāja</i>	<i>dharva</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>hatk</i>	<i>tatha</i>	<i>Pū.</i>	<i>Ani</i> <i>la</i>

44, 45. Then follow Pūshan, Vitatha, Bṛhatkshata, Yama, Gandharva, Bhṛ̥ṅgarāja, Mṛga, the Pitaras, Dauvārika, Sugrīva, Kusumadanta, Varuṇa, Asura, Ṣoṣha, Pāpayakshman, Roga, occupying the north-west corner, Ahi, Mukhya, Bhal-lāṭa, Soma, Bhujaga, Aditi, and Diti.

¹ See the above Diagram, and cf. Rām Ráz, Arch., p. 41; footnote, p. 42, l. 21, seqq.; p. 44, l. 8, seqq.

² However strange it may seem that N.E. should be presided over by Agni, and the S.E. by Wind, there can be no doubt about the author's meaning; the proofs are to be found in st. 49 and 63.

46, 47. In the centre is Brahman, occupying nine squares; east of him Aryaman; to the south of whom, at the interval of one compartment, is placed Savitar; at the same interval (proceeding westward) from the latter, Vivasvant. Then follow Indra, Mitra, Rājanyakshman, Prthvīdhara, and Âpavatsa. These are all stationed round Brahman.

48. In the intermediate compartment (between Âpavatsa and Agni), in the north-east direction, is placed Âpaḥ; south-east (between Savitar and Anila), Sāvitra; south-west, Jaya; north-west, Rudra.

49. Âpaḥ, Âpavatsa, Parjanya, Agni, and Diti form a group of deities occupying one compartment each, in the north-western corner. In the same manner there are five deities, each of them possessing one compartment, in the other corners.

50. The remaining exterior deities, twenty in number, have two squares each. Finally, to the share of the four deities, Aryaman, Vivasvant, Mitra, and Prthvīdhara, are allotted three compartments, severally, in the east, south, and so forth.

51. The spirit of the house area has his head directed north-westwards and his face turned downwards. His head is held by Agni, his face by Âpaḥ, his (right) pap by Aryaman, and his chest by Âpavatsa.

52. Parjanya and the (three) next exterior deities occupy his (right) eye, ear, bosom, and shoulder. Satya and the four subsequent lie on his (right) arm; Savitar and Sāvitra on his (right) hand.

53. Vitatha and Bhrhatkshata are stationed on his side; Vivasvant on the belly; the thigh is occupied by Yama; the knee by Gandharva, the lower leg by Bhrngarāja, and the hip by Mrga.

54. In the same manner as these are stationed on the right side, the other deities (such as have been specified) have their place on the left.¹ The penis is taken by Indra and Jayanta;² the heart by Brahman; and the foot by the Pitars.

¹ E.g. Prthvīdhara on the left pap; Diti on the left eye; etc.

² In the diagram, Jaya.

55. One may also, should one prefer it, divide the area into sixty-four compartments, and draw, besides, oblique lines from angle to angle. Of this area Brahman possesses four squares, and each of the deities, placed in oblique direction near him, half a square.¹

<i>Roga</i> <i>Pāp.</i>	<i>A.</i>	<i>Mu-</i>	<i>Bha.</i>	<i>So.</i>	<i>Bhu-</i>	<i>Adi.</i>	<i>Diti</i> <i>Agni</i>
<i>Gos</i> <i>ha</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>kha</i>	<i>lāta</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>jaga</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>Parjanya</i>
<i>Asar</i> <i>a</i>		<i>Rājy</i> <i>Rud.</i>	<i>Prthvīthara</i>	<i>Āpah</i> <i>Apas</i>		<i>Jayanta</i>	
<i>Varaṇa</i>		<i>Mi.</i>	<i>Brahman</i>	<i>Arya.</i>		<i>Indra</i>	
<i>Kusumad</i>		<i>tra</i>	<i>Brahman</i>	<i>man</i>		<i>Sūrya</i>	
<i>Sugrīva</i>		<i>Jaya</i> <i>Indra</i>	<i>Vivasvant</i>	<i>Sav</i> <i>Savit</i>		<i>Satya</i>	
<i>Dauvār</i> <i>Bhṛnga</i>		<i>Gan.</i>	<i>Yā.</i>	<i>Bṛhat</i>	<i>Vita.</i>	<i>Bhṛga</i> <i>Pū.</i>	
<i>Pit</i> <i>Mṛga</i>	<i>rāja</i>	<i>dhava</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>kshala</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>shan</i>	<i>Anar</i> <i>Anila</i>

56. The eight standing in the extreme corners, have to their share half a compartment, and those next to them on both sides have one and a half. The remaining twenty out of those enumerated possess two squares.

57. The meeting points of the longer diagonals and the very middle points of the compartments must be considered the vulnerable spots,² which one will do wisely not to hurt.

58. When those parts are injured by impure vessels, bolts,

¹ See Diagram above.

² Comm.: वंशानां कोणात्कोणगतानां सूत्राणां ये सम्पाताः । A special name of four of those diagonals is रज्जु; as we are taught by Utpala quoting a work of his own (unless we have to read मय instead of मदीय): तथा मदीयवास्तुविद्यायाम्

pillars, and the like, as well as by (what is termed) a "wounding point," they cause suffering to the house-owner at the corresponding member of his body.

59. That member of the body where the householder feels an itching, or that spot where at a sacrifice an evil omen is produced, or where the fire shows unnatural symptoms, contains a wounding point.

60. If the wounding point consists of wood, there will be loss of wealth; if it is something made of bone, there will be suffering amongst cattle, disease and unsafety. [If the point is something of iron, there is danger from the sword; skullbones and hairs denote death.]

[61. If it is charcoal, you may predict unsafety on account of thieves; if it is ashes, continual danger from fire. In fact, any wounding point, unless it be gold or silver, on a vulnerable spot, is most disastrous.]

[62. A heap of chaff, whether found on a vulnerable spot, or on any other, prevents the acquisition of wealth.] A peg, also, on a vulnerable spot, is mischievous.

63, 64. The nine meeting points of the lines drawn from Roga to Anila, from the Pitars to Agni, from Vitatha to Ṣoṣha, from Mukhya to Bhṛṣa, from Jayanta to Bhṛngarāja, and from Aditi to Sugrīva, are declared to be the excessively vulnerable spots. The dimension of a vulnerable spot is set down at one-eighth of a compartment.

65. A long diagonal has in breadth as many digits as each square numbers cubits. The measure of a vein¹ is stated to be one and a half the breadth of a diagonal.

66. The householder, if he is anxious to be happy, should

रोगाद्वायुं नयेत्सूत्रं पितृतोऽथ ऊताशनम् ।

एतत् सूत्रद्वयं प्रोक्तं मुनिभिर्विशसञ्चितम् ॥

वितथाच्छोषकं चान्यद्भृशं मुख्यात् तथा नयेत् ।

जयन्ताद्भृङ्गिराजाख्यं सुग्रीवमदितेस्तथा ।

एतच्चतुष्टयं प्रोक्तं रज्जुसञ्ज्ञं मनीषिभिः ॥

The general name, however, is *vanṣa*; see below, st. 63, sq.

¹ Comm. रोगाद्वायुम् इत्यादिकं सूत्रद्वयं वंशशब्देनोच्यते ॥ सिरा-

carefully preserve Brahman, who is stationed in the centre of the dwelling, from injury by remains of food and the like, lest he should come to grief.

67. When the house-spirit has lost his right arm, loss of wealth and faults of the housewife are denoted by it. Loss of the left arm forebodes loss of property and corn. When his head be hurt, one is to lose all advantages.

68. Faults in the wife, death of a son and servitude will result from an organ being impaired. Where the house-spirit is unimpaired, the inmates will enjoy honour, wealth, and pleasures.

69. In the manner aforesaid deities are stationed in all houses, towns, and villages, where Brahmins and the other classes must be established according to their respective rank.

70. The dwelling-houses of the Brahmins are situated to the north, of the Kshatriyas to the east, and so on with the rest. They are, moreover, made in such a way that on entering the door you have (the greater part of) the space of the house to your right.¹

71. According to the doors standing on different portions of the outline of the ground plan, whether of nine times nine

शब्देन पूर्वापरायता दक्षिणोत्तरायताश्च दश-दश रेखा ज्ञेयाः । All those diagonals and veins have their own names, a list of which is given by Utpala.

¹ The same is far more clearly indicated in Rām Rāz, Arch. p. 46 : "If the front of the house be ten paces in length, the entrance should be between five on the right and four on the left." Differently Utpala : तथाच कार्यणि यथा भवनं गृहाभ्यन्तरमङ्गलं विशतां तान्येव वासगृहाणि दक्षिणतो दक्षिणस्यां दिशि भवन्ति । एतदुक्तं भवति । प्राङ्मुखस्य गृहस्याङ्गलं (v.l. °स्यांगार) द्वारमुत्तराभिमुखं कार्यम् । दक्षिणाभिमुखस्य प्राङ्मुखम् । पश्चिमाभिमुखस्य दक्षिणाभिमुखम् । उत्तराभिमुखस्य पश्चिमाभिमुखमिति ॥ How a house can be said to face the east, without having its door facing the same quarter, is beyond our comprehension.

or of 64 squares, the consequences vary ; thus, to begin with the door in the north-eastern corner, indicated here below :

72. Danger from fire, birth of a girl, abundant wealth, favour with the monarch, wrathfulness, falsehood, and thievishness (are the results of the door standing) eastwards.

73. Few sons, servitude, lowness, increase of food, drink and progeny, cruelty, ungratefulness, poverty, and loss of children and strength (are the consequences, if the door stands) southwards.

74. Suffering of a son, increase of enemies, no acquisition of wealth or sons, happy possession of sons, wealth and power, riches, danger from the king, loss of wealth, and sickness (await the owner, where the door faces the) west.

75. Death or captivity, increase of enemies, acquisition of wealth and sons, happy possession of all good things, getting sons and wealth, enmity with one's own son, faults in the wife, and poverty (may be expected where the door is placed on the northern edge).

76. A door being hindered by a road, tree, corner, well, column or water spring, brings ill luck ; but on its being removed to a distance equal to twice its height, it will not do any harm.

77. A door that is impeded by the road is destructive ; one that is hindered by a tree will be noxious to boys ; a door with mud before it threatens grief ; when water is flowing near it, expenses are predicted.

78. A door being injured by a well occasions epilepsy ; by a temple, destruction ; by a column, failings of the housewife. Where a door faces Brahman,¹ the family will perish.

79. A door which opens of itself produces madness ; one

¹ There is a long inquiry in the Comm., in order to find out how to reconcile this statement with that in st. 75. The upshot is that the one cannot by any means be made to agree with the other. It has been pointed out more than once that Varāha-mihira has the habit of uncritically copying his authorities.

that closes of itself, ruin of the family. A door whose dimensions are too large causes danger from the king; a low one forebodes robbery and brings calamity.

80. A door placed above another, and one that is too narrow, promises no good; a somewhat yawning one threatens famine; a curved one destroys the family.

81. A door being excessively pinched (by the threshold) gives rise to distress; one that is bent inwards tends to evil; one bent outwards causes absence from home; one standing awry in regard to the quarters produces vexation by robbers.

82. One should not have the principal entrance out-done by other doors, owing to a loftier appearance of the latter, and must richly ornament it with auspicious objects, as water-pots, fruit, foliage, images of goblins, and the like.

83. Outside the house are stationed in the intermediate quarters, north-east, south-east, etc., the following (female spirits): Carakī, Vidārī, Pūtanā, and Rākshasī.¹

84. The angles (north-east, etc.) in towns, villages, and houses, are attended with evils for those who abide there, but persons of the lowest tribes, Çvapacas and such like,² will prosper in them.

85. The wavy-leaved fig, the banyan, the glomerous fig, and the holy fig-tree are trees of evil augury if growing on

¹ Other authorities of superstition know eight spirits; Comm.: शास्त्रान्तरेष्वष्टौ पठन्ति ॥ तथाच

ऐशान्यां चरकी प्रोक्ता स्कन्दः प्राग्भागसंस्थितः ।

पूतना नैर्ऋते ज्ञेया जम्बुकः पश्चिमे स्थितः ॥

राक्षसी चानिले कोणे पिलिपिच्छस्तथोत्तरि ।

And

स्कन्दोऽर्यमा जम्बकाख्यः (v.l. जम्बु°) पिलिपिच्छस्तथापरः ।

प्राच्यादिदिक्चतुष्के च निवसन्ति महाग्रहाः ॥

Cf. also Sūgruta II. p. 382 seq.

² Comm.: श्वपचा डोम्बाः । आदियहणाच्चण्डालपुष्पादयः ।

the south side, west side, etc. (of the house), but are auspicious in the north, east, and so on.¹

86. Thorny trees near the dwelling occasion unsafety from the enemy; milky ones presage ruin of wealth; fruit-trees destroy posterity. Their timber also should be avoided.

87. In case one should not wish to cut those trees, one has to sow amidst them others held to be of good augury, such as Punnâg, Açoka, Azadiracht, Mimusops, bread-fruit tree, Sami, Shorea.

88. A level ground, sweet, of good odour, decked with good herbs, trees, and plants, smooth and not full of cavities, bestows happiness on those even who come to rest themselves on it from the fatigue of travel; how much more then on those who have a permanent home on it?

89, 90. The neighbourhood of a minister's residence brings loss of wealth; of a cheat's house, death of a son; of a temple, agitation; of a cross-way, ill repute; of a holy tree, danger from planetary influences; of ant-hills or holes, calamities; of a well, thirst; of a mound in the shape of a tortoise-back, loss of wealth.

91. A declivity on the north side is deemed fit for Brahmans; one on the east, for Kshatriyas, and so forth. But there are those also who opine that Brahmans may dwell in any direction, and the other classes according to their rank.²

92. (To try the fitness of the ground) let one dig in the middle of the house site a pit a cubit in diameter and in depth, and afterwards return the earth into it. If, then, the

¹ The word *pradakshinena* serves only to indicate that from the south one has to go onward in a direction which follows the course of the sun.

² This elliptical phrase is explained by the Comm.: विप्रो ब्राह्मणः सर्वत्र सर्वेषां भूमौ वसेत् उत्तरपूर्वदक्षिणपश्चिमाद्यामिति । अन्येषां क्षत्रियादीनामथेष्टमनुक्रमेण शोभनम् । तद्यथा पूर्वस्रवा दक्षिणस्रवा पश्चिमस्रवा क्षत्रियाणाम् । etc. The latter rule totally upsets the former, and it has been rightly said by Rām Ráz, Arch., 16: "The principle on which these distinctions are founded is altogether nugatory." Cf. also the latter part of stanza 95.

earth prove insufficient, it is a bad sign; if it takes up the same space, it is indifferently good; should it be more than sufficient, it bespeaks good luck.

93. Or fill the pit with water. If, having walked a hundred paces, you find, on returning, the water not diminished, it is a lucky token; which it is also, when an *ādḥaka* (of earth dug out) weighs sixty-four *palas*.¹

94. Or (put into a vessel four lamps); where the wick of a lamp that has been put into a vessel of unbaked clay, and placed in a peculiar quarter within the pit, shines longer (than the other wicks), the ground is fit for the class (to which the quarter is assigned).

95. The ground where a flower appropriated to one of the classes, after being left lying in a pit for one night, does not fade, is fit for the class (whose colour corresponds to the hue of the flower). In general, the soil will be suitable to any one whose mind is pleased with it.²

96. A white soil is favourable to Brahmans; a red one to

¹ To read, as the Comm. has it : पलानि पांखाढकं.

² Comm.: तथाच गर्गः

यो यस्य रचिता भूमिर्भवेत्तु गृहकर्मणि ।
 तस्यां श्वभं खनेच्छे हस्तमात्रं समन्ततः ॥
 तच्छ्वभं पूरयेत्तेन पांसुना सुविचक्षणः ।
 वर्धमाने च वृद्धिः स्याद्वीयमाने विगर्हिता ॥
 सान्ये सान्यं विनिर्देशमथवान्यद्विचारणम् ।
 पूरयित्वाथवा श्वभं मृद्भिः क्रमशतं व्रजेत् ॥
 पूर्णं स्यादागमाबावत् सा भूमिस्तु प्रशस्यते ।
 तस्मिन् धारयेच्छ्वभे चित्रमात्मननुक्रमात् ।
 यश्चिरान्न्नायते मात्स्यं तद्वर्णस्तत्र चावसेत् ।
 आमे वा मृन्मये पात्रे दीपवर्तित्तुष्टयम् ॥
 यस्यां दिशि प्रज्वलति चिरं तस्यैव सा शुभा ।

Kshatriyas; a yellow one to Vaiçyas; and a black one to Çûdras. A smell like ghee, blood, food and spirituous liquor, denotes a ground suited to Brahmans and the rest, in succession.

97. A soil covered with sacrificial grass, Çara, bent grass and *Saccharum spontaneum*, promotes the weal of the classes respectively. Likewise a sweet, astringent, sour and pungent earth.

98. At a period indicated by the astrologer, let the house-owner go to a piece of ground which has been ploughed, abounds with seed grown up, has served for a resting-place of cows, or has got the approval of the Brahmans.

99. He has to worship the deities with various sorts of sweetmeats, with curds, unground barley-corns, fragrant flowers and incenses, and to pay honour to the architects and Brahmans.

100. Then—touching his head, if he be a Brahman; the breast, if a Kshatriya; the thigh, if a Vaiçya; the foot, if a Çûdra—let him draw a line, the first act when a house is to be built.

101. It is allowed to make the line by means of the thumb, middle finger, or forefinger, as well as by means of gold, precious stone, silver, pearl, curds, fruits, flowers, or unground barley-corns.

102. A line scratched with a sword causes death by the sword; with an iron object, captivity; with ashes, danger from fire; with grass, danger from robbers; and with wood, danger from the king.

103. A crooked line, drawn with the foot, occasions danger from the sword and troubles; so also does a deformed line. One made by means of leather, charcoal, a bone or tooth, brings misfortune upon him that makes it.

104. Hostility may be predicted from a line being scratched from right to left; good luck, from one being drawn from left to right. Harsh words, spitting and sneezing (during the act) are said to be inauspicious.

105. When the edifice is half-built or finished, let the architect enter it and observe the omens, on what spot the house-owner happens to stand, and what limb he is touching.

106. Should, on that moment, an ominous bird, being scorched by the sun,¹ emit hoarse sounds, you may predict that on the spot (where the house-owner is stationed) there is a bone of a member corresponding to the member touched.²

107. And by other animals, like elephants, horses, dogs, shrieking in return at the time of augury, may be known that the specified spot contains a bone from such an animal and belonging to a corresponding limb of the body.

108. The sound of an ass when the measuring line is being extended announces that there is a bone hidden. You may predict that there will be another "wounding point" (as it is termed), on seeing a dog or jackal leaping over the measuring line.

109. When a bird of augury sweetly warbles in a quiet quarter, then it may be foretold that a treasure lies hidden at the corresponding spot, or in that part of the house-spirit's body upon which the owner is standing.

110. By the measuring line snapping asunder may be predicted death; by the plug drooping its top, great sickness; by the house-owner and architect falling short in their memory, death.

111. The waterpot dropping from the shoulder forebodes headache; its being overturned, calamity in the family; its getting broken, death of the workmen; its slipping from the hands, death of the house-owner.

112. Having made an oblation, one has to lay the first stone in the south-east angle, and then, proceeding from left to right, the rest. Similarly the pillars ought to be raised.

113. The pillar must be raised, decorated with an umbrella, garlands, cloth, scented with incense, and smeared with

¹ *i.e.*, facing the quarter in which the sun is standing at that period. The eastern quarter is "scorched" (*dīpta*, *prādipta*) from sunrise upwards to the end of the first *prahara*; during the same period the north-east is termed *angārīn*, the south-east *dhūmīn* or *dhūmīta*, the rest *gānta*. Cf. ch. 86, 12.

² Comm.: उक्तमागमान्तरि

पृच्छाकाले गृहस्वामी यदङ्गं स्पृशति स्वकम् ।

भुवो धस्तत्प्रमाणेन शब्दं ब्रूयात्तदङ्गजम् ॥

unguent. The erecting of the door should be performed, with all care, in the same manner.¹

114. The consequences of pillars shaking, falling, standing

¹ In Garga, as quoted by the Comm., we find this solemn lay :

शिलान्वासस्य मन्त्रोऽयं निर्दिष्टो मुनिभिः पुरा ।

नन्दे नन्द्य वासिष्ठे वसुभिश्चासुभिः प्रजाः ।

जये भार्गवदायादे प्रजानां भद्रमावह ॥

पूर्णैः क्षिरसदायादे पूर्णकामाः प्रजाः कुरु ।

भद्रे काश्यपदायादे प्रजानां भद्रमावह ॥

सर्वबीजसमायुक्ते सर्वगन्धौषधैर्वृते ।

रुचिरे नन्दने नन्दे वासिष्ठे रम्यतां गृहे ॥

प्रजापतिसुते देवि चतुरश्रे महीसुते ।

सुभगे सुव्रते देवि गृहे काश्यपि रम्यताम् ॥

पूजिते परमाचार्ये गन्धमास्त्रैरलङ्कृते ।

भव भूतिकरी देवि गृहे भार्गवि रम्यताम् ॥

अलङ्घ्ये चाचते पूर्णे मुनेरङ्गिरसः सुते ।

इष्टके त्वं प्रयच्छेष्टं प्रतिष्ठां गृहिणां कुरु ॥

ग्रामस्वामिपुरस्वामि गृहस्वामि परिग्रहे ।

मनुष्यपशुहस्त्यश्वधनवृद्धिकरी भव ॥

The fact that these stones or bricks are held to be goddesses, in their essence at least, and that their fathers are the sages Angiras, Vasishṭha, etc., may be recommended to the attention of those who adhere to the creed of Euemerus concerning mythology. In Viçvak. we meet with analogous spells, *e.g.*

नाभिर्मेति च मन्त्रेण स्थिरो भवेति वै तथा ।

प्रार्थनं च ततः कुर्यादागमोक्तेन मन्त्रवित् ॥

नन्दे त्वं नन्दनी पुंसां त्वामत्र स्थापयाम्यहम् ।

प्रासादे तिष्ठ संहृष्टा यावच्चन्द्रार्कतारकाः ॥

आयुः कामं प्रियं देहि देववासिनि नन्दिनि ।

अस्मिन्संस्था त्वया कार्या प्रासादे यत्नतो मम ॥

The two prayers indicated are Vâj. S. 20, 9, and 11, 44.

feebly, and of birds alighting on them, are the same with those specified at the banner of Indra, where the good omens have been enumerated at the same time.

115. A dwelling too elevated on the north-east side causes the loss of property and sons ; one that has a bad smell, the death of a son ; one that is not straight, destruction of kinsmen. In a habitation which does not face any distinct quarter, no children will be born.

116. Let him who is anxious for the weal of his house raise the soil on every side to the same level ; and if there must needs be a fault, let it be on the east or north side.

117. If an elevation is to be found in the east, there will be enmity with friends ; if in the south, peril of death ; if in the west, loss of wealth ; if in the north, heart-burning.

118. A chapel is to be made in the north-east ; a kitchen in the south-east ; a (room for) vessels and utensils in the south-west ; a treasury and granary in the north-west.

119. By water being found to the east, south-east, etc., of a habitation, the results will be, respectively, loss of sons, danger from fire, peril from enemies, quarrel with the housewife, wickedness of the same, poverty, increase of wealth, and increase of progeny.

120. In cutting timber, one has to avoid trees inhabited by birds, or broken, withered, scorched, standing near temples, on cemeteries, milky trees, *Terminalia bellerica*, *Azadiracht*, and *Premna spinosa*.¹

121. Having presented an oblation, and paid worship at night, let the carpenter hew the tree in the daytime, from left to right. It is a lucky token if the tree falls north or east ; coming down in another direction, it is not acceptable.

122. If the cut shows no unnatural phenomena, the timber will be fit for building material ; if a yellow circle is visible on it, you may foretell that there is a great lizard within the tree.

¹ The translation renders the obvious meaning of the author ; as to his words, they express, in the former half of the couplet, precisely the reverse of what is intended ; instead of *०रणीवर्जितान्* it ought to have been *०णीवर्जम्*.

123. A madder-hued ring on the cut denotes a frog; a dark one, a snake; a red one, a chameleon; a bean-coloured one, a stone; a brown one, a mouse; a sword-hued one, water.

124. Let him who desires to prosper sleep not above grain, cows, persons to be venerated, fire and deities, nor in the same straight line with the diagonals, nor with his head turned northward or westward, nor naked, nor with wet feet.

125. Amid the shouts of Brahmans the proprietor has to make his entrance into his newly-built house, it being strewed with a great many flowers, adorned with archways, and decorated with waterpots filled, the gods being worshipped with incense, perfumes, and oblations.

CHAPTER LIV.

On the Exploration of Water-springs.

1. Forthwith I will explain the meritorious and reputable art how to explore springs to obtain water. Even as there are veins in the human body, so, too, in the earth, some of them running higher, others deeper.

2. Although all the water falling from heaven has the same colour and taste, yet it becomes different in taste, and of various colours, owing to the difference of soil.¹ Hence an examination of it may be based on its analogy with the soil.

3. Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Soma, and Īśa, are to be considered the rulers of the quarters, east, south-east, and so on in succession.

4. Eight veins are denominated after the ruler of the region; a ninth, in the centre, is called the great vein. There are hundreds of others, that issue from different quarters, and are known by their own names.²

¹ Cf. Sūçruta, i., p. 169, l. 9 sqq.

² This statement is couched in somewhat hyperbolic language; yet it appears from st. 23 below, that some at least of these veins were endowed with elegant names.

5. The veins running above the infernal regions, and those that are found in the four cardinal points, are good; those that issue from the intermediate points are evil. I now proceed to describe the tokens of the veins.

6, 7. If you find rotang in a waterless country, there will be, at a distance of three cubits from thence, and at a depth of $1\frac{1}{2}$ man's length,¹ a vein flowing from the west. The (further) signs are: at a depth of $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. a pale yellow frog, then yellow clay and a stone protruding from it; beneath there is water.

8. Northwards from a roseapple-tree, at a distance of three cubits, and a depth of 2 m. l. under ground, will be an easterly vein; there (will appear as further indications) clay of a smell like iron, then pale yellow clay, and, at 1 m. l. deep, a frog.

9, 10. Where an ant-hill is near a roseapple-tree, there will be sweet water, 2 m. l. deep, on the south side. (The signs are:) a fish at a depth of $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l., and a pigeon-coloured pebble. There, also, will be dark clay and much water for a long time.

11. To the west of a glomerous fig-tree, at three cubits' distance, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. under ground, there will be a vein of good water. (The signs are:) a white snake at a depth of 1 m. l., and a stone resembling collyrium.

12, 13. If an ant-hill is seen to the north of a *Terminalia Arjuna*, there is water in a westerly direction, three cubits from the tree and $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. deep. (The indications are:) a great fair-hued lizard at a depth of $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l.; grey clay 1 m. l. underground; further, black, yellow, white clay blended with sand; at last water, one may predict, in immense quantity.

14, 15. At the above-mentioned number of cubits to the south of a *Vitex Negundo*, with an ant-hill annexed, there will be water, sweet and never drying up, at a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. A *rohīt* fish at $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l., then red-brown clay, further

¹ Comm.: पुरुषशब्देनोर्ध्वबाहुः पुरुषो ज्ञेयः। स च विंशत्यधिकमङ्गुलशतं (= 5 cubits) भवति ।

pale yellow clay, then sand mixed with gravel (are the indications) ; beneath it is water.

16. If an ant-hill appears to the east of a jujube-tree, one may announce that there is water on the west side,¹ at 3 m. l. A fair house-lizard (being found) at $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. (is a further indication).

17. Should a jujube-tree, along with a *Butea frondosa*, stand to the west, then there is water $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. deep, the sign being a newt at 1 m. l.

18. Three cubits more to the south of a spot where a Bilva and a glomerous fig-tree stand connected, there will be water at 3 m. l., the indication being a black frog at $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l.

19, 20. If an ant-hill is seen near an oppositifolious fig tree, there is a water-vein running in the west, at a depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. (The tokens are :) whitish clay and a milk-coloured stone. At $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. will be perceived a mouse of a colour like the water-lily.

21, 22. Where in a waterless region a Kampilla-tree is seen, a southern vein runs at three cubits' distance to the west. First appears (as an indication) clay of a colour like blue lotus and like pigeons ; at one cubit is a fish with the smell of a he-goat ; below, is a little brackish water.

23. Two cubits more to the north-west of a Bignonia is a water-vein, bearing the name of Kumudâ, and flowing at 3 m. l.

24. If an ant-hill rises near a beleric myrobalan, on the south side a vein is to be found in the east, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. l.²

25, 26. In case an ant-hill should be perceived west of the same tree, there will be a vein in the north, a cubit thence, and at $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. (The indications are :) a white

¹ Whenever no distance is specified, it must be understood to be the same as that mentioned in the preceding stanza.

² Comm. : तथाच सारस्वतः

विभीतकस्य याम्यायां वल्मीको यदि दृश्यते ।

करद्वयात्तरोः पूर्वे सार्धे च पुरुषे जलम् ॥

Sârasvata is frequently quoted in the Comm. throughout the chapter.

scorpion (?) and a saffron-hued stone, at 1 m. l. In the westerly direction, also, is a vein, which will dry up after three years.

27, 28. Where an ant-hill, along with sacrificial grass and indigo,¹ is stationed north-east of a Bauhinia, there is water, never drying up, between the tree and the ant-hill, at a depth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. As signs are to be mentioned: a snake of the colour of a lotus calix, at 1 m. l.; red earth, and a coryndon stone.

29, 30. If an Echites is surrounded by ant-hills, it may be predicted that to the north of it is water, at 5 m. l.; the signs being, a yellowish-green frog at $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l., earth like yellow orpiment, and a stone of the colour of a dark cloud; under it is a northern vein yielding good water.

31, 32. A frog being seen under any tree shows that water is to be found at a cubit's distance, at $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. At 1 m. l. will be discovered an ichneumon, then dark clay, further on yellow, at last white clay, and a stone of the colour of a frog.

33, 34. In case a snake's abode² appears standing south of a Karanj-tree, there is a vein in the south at two cubits, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. depth. At $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. is a tortoise; and there will then be discovered, first, an eastern vein; further on, a northern vein with sweet water; beneath lies a yellowish-green stone; then again water.

35, 36. An abode of snakes standing north of a Bassia is an indication that water will be found on the western side of the tree, five cubits off, at $7\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. (The signs are :) first, a big snake at 1 m. l.; then deep-purple earth, and a stone of the colour of dolichos. Beneath is an eastern vein, supplying water which is always foamy.

37. Where a smooth ant-hill, combined with sacrificial and bent grass, stands south of a Tilaka-tree, an eastern vein will be discovered in a westerly direction at 5 m. l.

¹ The Comm. reads सकुशः सित, and explains accordingly, "a white ant-hill with sacrificial grass."

² This word and ant-hill are interchangeable terms.

38, 39. In case an abode of snakes is stationed west of a Nauclea, there is water three cubits from it, at $5\frac{3}{4}$ m. l. It is a northern vein that flows there, having a smell like iron, and inexhaustible. (As tokens will be found:) a gold-tinged frog, at 1 m. l.; and then yellow clay.

40. If either a tâl or a cocoa-tree be surrounded by ant-hills, there is, six cubits further to the west of it, a southern vein, at 4 m. l.

41, 42. On perceiving an abode of snakes on the west side of a wood apple-tree, one may predict that water will be discovered at seven cubits' distance, by digging 5 m. l. deep. (The signs are): a spotted snake at 1 m. l.; black clay and a protruding stone; white clay. Underneath runs a vein from the west; then another from the north.

43, 44. Should a jujube-tree or a snake's abode appear to the left (*i.e.* northwards) of an Aḡmantaka-tree, water will be found six cubits distant, in a northerly direction, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. l., (the indications being) a tortoise at 1 m. l., a grey stone, clay mingled with sand. The first vein issues from the southern quarter; the second, from the north-west.

45, 46. Should an ant-hill rise on the left side (*i.e.* northwards) of a yellow sandal-tree, there will be water three cubits to the east from thence, at $5\frac{3}{4}$ m. l. (The indications are): a black snake at 1 m. l.; yellow clay and an emerald-like stone; then black earth. First there will be found a vein coming from the west; afterwards another from the south.

47. Where, in a waterless region, the characteristics of an aquatic vegetation, or soft andropogon and bent grass, are conspicuous, there is water at 1 m. l.

48. *Clerodendron syphonanthus*,¹ Ipomœa, Croton, Sûkara-pâḍi, Lakshmanâ, and double-jessamine denote water to be near, two cubits from thence to the south, at 3 m. l.

¹ A word भार्गी, as given in the dictionaries, has no existence but in corrupt manuscripts; the name of the plant is भार्गी. That this reading of good manuscripts is the only legitimate one is proved by the fact that the plant is also called भृङ्गजा, which is, of course, virtually the same with *Bhārngī*.

49. Bushes and trees, growing low, looking smooth and having their boughs hanging down, have water near them; whereas hollow, coarse trees, with shattered leaves, lack water.

50, 51. If Tilaka, Spondias, Crataeva, marking nut, Bilva, ebony, Alangium, Piṇḍāra, Sirīsa, Anjana, Grewia, Dalbergia, and Sida appear very sleek, and surrounded by ant-hills, there is water three cubits from thence to the north, at $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. l.

52. Where a plot is grown with grass in the midst of a grassless plain, or where a grassless spot is conspicuous in the midst of a soil abounding with grass, a water-vein is indicated; or one may predict that a treasure will be discovered on the spot.

53. Where trees with thorns and those devoid of them grow intermixedly, you will discover three cubits further to the east, by digging $3\frac{3}{4}$ m. l., water, or, perchance, a treasure.

54. Where the soil, being struck by the feet, sounds deep, there is water, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. l.; the vein issues from the north.

55. If one of the branches of a tree is bent or faded, you will be sure to obtain water beneath the branch after digging 3 m. l.

56. A tree that shows unnatural symptoms in its fruits and blossoms points to a vein, three cubits to the east, at 4 m. l.; under the surface (will appear) a stone and yellow earth.

57. If a *Solanum Jacquini*¹ is seen without thorns and with white blossoms, one may predict there is water below, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. l.

58. Where in a waterless country a betelnut-tree shows two tops, it may be asserted for certain that on the west side there will be water, at 3 m. l.

59. In case you see a white blossoming *Pterospermum* or *Butea*, there will be water, two cubits to the south, at 3 m. l.

60. Where the ground steams or smokes, there is water at 2 m. l.; and it may be stated that the vein will yield an abundant supply of water.

¹ Comm. कण्टकारिका निदिग्धका (v.l. निर्दिग्धका).

61. Where, on a single spot of a field, the sprouting corn perishes, or looks thin and exceedingly pale, there is a great vein at 2 m. l.

62. Now am I to set forth how a vein is discovered in a desert country. The water-veins run below the earth's surface in the guise of camels' necks (*i.e.* syphons).

63, 64. If an ant-hill is stationed north-east of a Pīlu-tree, there will be water to the west; you may hold for certain that the vein flowing in the north is at the depth of 5 m. l. The first indication is a frog; then red-brown clay; after that yellowish-green clay; at 1 m. l. lies a stone; there is certainly water underneath.

65, 66. Should the ant-hill stand on the eastern side of the Pīlu-tree, then it may be predicted that in a southerly direction there is water, at 7 m. l., at a distance of four cubits and a half. (The signs are:) at 1 m. l. a snake, half white, half black, one cubit long. A vein from the south there supplies plenty of brackish water.

67. From a snake's abode standing to the north of a Karīl-tree, one may infer that there is sweet water southward, at 10 m. l., the token being a yellow frog at 1 m. l.

68. If to the west of an Andersonia there is an abode of snakes, you will find, at three cubits more to the south, after digging 12 m. l., a western vein of brackish water.

69. An ant-hill being visible to the east of a *Terminalia Arjuna* indicates that you will come at a vein at a cubit's distance to the west, by digging 14 m. l. (An indication is:) a great brown lizard at 1 m. l.

70, 71. Or, if there be a snake's abode to the left (*i.e.* north) of any tree denominated after gold, there is water two cubits from thence in a southern direction, at 15 m. l. The water is brackish. (The tokens under the surface are:) an ichneumon at $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l., and a copper-coloured stone along with red earth. The vein is one issuing from the south.

72, 73. Where a jujube-tree and an Andersonia stand conjoined, whether an ant-hill be near or not, there is water three cubits further to the west, at 16 m. l. (Below the surface will be discovered:) first, water of good taste, produced

by a southern vein; then, a northern vein; at $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. a leaden-hued stone, white clay, and a scorpion.

74. Should a jujube-tree appear conjointly with a Karīl, there will be water in the west, three cubits off, at 18 m. l. It is a north-eastern vein, rich in water.

75. On the east side of a jujube combined with a Pīlu, water will be found, never drying, but brackish, at 20 m. l.

76. Where a *Terminalia Arjuna* stands conjointly with a Karīl, or with a Bilva, water will be found two cubits further off in the west, at 25 m. l.

77. Should it happen that bent grass and sacrificial grass on the top of an ant-hill appear of a pale yellow colour, then sink a well in the middle thereof, for there is water at 21 m. l.

78. Where bent grass, along with *Andropogon serratus*,¹ is seen growing on an ant-hill, there is water three cubits further off to the south, at 25 m. l.

79, 80. If an Andersonia, conjointly with three other trees of various kinds, is stationed in the midst of three ant-hills, there will be water to the north, at an interval of four cubits sixteen digits, and at a depth of 40 m. l., where a stone will be found, under which the vein runs.

81. At a distance of five cubits, in a westerly direction, from a spot where a knotty Sami-tree is seen, having an ant-hill on its north side, there will be water at 50 m. l.

82. If the middlemost of five ant-hills stationed at one place be white, it indicates a vein at 55 m. l.

83. Where a Sami-tree has a Butea near it, water is on the west side, at 60 m. l. First (you will discover below the surface) a snake at $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l.; afterwards yellow clay mixed with sand.

84. One cubit eastward of a spot where a white Andersonia is surrounded by an ant-hill, will be water at 70 m. l.

85. Where a white Sami shows a great many thorns, there is water in a southerly direction, at 75 m. l., while a snake will come to sight at $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l.

¹ R. in the text भूमीकदम्बक° as one word, though the Comm. understands it otherwise.

86. The existence of water in a woody tract of land may not be determined on such indications as apply to a desert only. The number of m. l. which has been given in st. 6, sqq., has to be doubled in the case of a desert.

87, 88, 89. A roseapple-tree and the plants Teori, bow-string hemp, Çiçumârî, Echites, Çivâ, Çyâmâ, Dioscorea, Cardiospermum, Garuḍavegâ, Sûkarika, Glycine and Ricinus, growing by a snake's abode, denote water to be near the ant-hill, three cubits off to the south, at 3 m. l. The latter number applies to a watery country, but for a woody tract the depth is to be fixed at 5 m. l., and for a desert at 7 m. l., if the indications be the same.

90. Where some ground, otherwise uniform and devoid of grass, trees, ant-hills or shrubs, contains a piece of unusual appearance, there is water.

91. And where the earth is smooth, low, sandy or resounding, there is water at $4\frac{1}{2}$ or 5 m. l.

92. To the south of smooth trees there will be water at 4 m. l. The same may be said, should a tree in the midst of a thick wood show uncommon symptoms.

93. Where the soil slopes downwards, there is water at $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. l., in the case of a woody or watery tract of country. Where insects are frequent, without having their abode in that place, there, too, is water.

94. An isolated cold spot in a warm ground denotes cold water; a single warm spot in a cold ground, warm water, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. l., and at four cubits' distance, if a rainbow, fish or ant-hill be conspicuous.

95. If in a row of ant-hills one is prominent above the rest, there is water beneath it. There is water also, where the corn in the field withers or does not come up at all.

96. A banyan, a Butea and a glomerous fig-tree standing conjoined denote water, at 3 m. l. The same may be said from a banyan and Pipal appearing in close connexion. The vein lies northward.

97. A well being situated in the south-east of a village or town is likely to occasion constant danger from fire and men.

98. A well in the south-west causes loss of children, and

one in the north-west threatens the wife. Wells in any other direction are productive of good.

99. Thus much have I composed in *āryā* couplets, with constant reference to the work, "Exploration of Water-springs," by the Seer Sārasvata.—I will now expound the system of Manu also, in *ṛtta* verses.

100. A water-vein will be found in those parts where trees, shrubs and creepers appear covered with entire leaves and smooth; where lotus,¹ Asteracantha, Andropogon, Trichosanthes, Cyperus, Kāṣa or sacrificial grass, Nalikā or reed grows.

101, 102. Where betelnut, roseapple, *Terminalia Arjuna*, rotang wax, or milky trees, shrubs and creepers, or mushrooms, Ricinus, Mesua,² lotus, Nauclea *nīpa*, Karanj, and *Vitex Negundo*; or beleric myrobalan or jessamine; there is water at 3 m. l. Where one hill rises upon another, there also is water at 3 m. l. at the foot.

103. Where the soil abounds with reed-grass, Kāṣa and sacrificial grass, and consists of blue clay mingled with gravel, or where the clay is black or red, there is much delicious water.

104. A copper-coloured earth mixed with gravel, yields water of an astringent taste; red-brown earth, brackish water; a pale yellow ground is an indication of salt, and a blue soil of sweet, water.

105. Pot-herbs, *Vatica robusta*, *Terminalia Arjuna*, Bilva, Shorea, *Gmelina arborea*, Ruellia (?), Grislea, and Sissoo are signs that water is far off; so, too, are trees, shrubs, and creepers looking coarse and having hollow leaves.

106. A soil the colour of which resembles that of the sun, fire, ashes, camels or asses, is said to be waterless. If the ground be red, and Karil trees exhibit red sprouts and a milky sap, there is water under a stone.

107. A rock in colour like to lapis lazuli, kidney-beans,

¹ Comm.: पद्मं स्थलपद्मम् ।

² The rendering is doubtful; Comm.: कृत्वा प्रसिद्धा । इभा हस्त-
कर्णी । नागो नागकेशरः ।

clouds, the eyes of a peacock's tail, or to a nearly ripe fruit of the glomerous fig-tree, or to a black bee¹ and collyrium, or of a reddish-brown hue, has much water near it.

108. A rock showing the colour of pigeons, wax, ghee, or of a linen cloth, or of the Soma-plant, such a one, also, will soon produce inexhaustible water.

109. A rock exhibiting red and variegated speckles, being of a pale yellow colour, or tinged like ashes, a camel, ass, or like a bee, Anguštika-blossom,² or like the sun and fire, is waterless.

110. Of good promise are those rocks which show the hue of moonlight, crystal, pearl, gold; and those which appear like sapphire, vermilion, antimony; and those which have the colour of the beams of the rising sun and yellow orpiment. Thus speaketh the Sage in the next verse :

111. " Indeed, these rocks are extremely hard, beneficial and always frequented by Yakshas and Nāgas. Never will

¹ The reading of the Comm., viz. भङ्गाञ्जनाभा, may be right, but his explanation, भङ्गे स्फोटने । अञ्जनसदृशी । is not exact. *Bhangāñjana* means "collyrium used for *bhanga*." Now, *bhanga* being synonymous with *bhangi*, and the latter having the sense of "toilet, fashion," in French *mode*, the compound may be rendered by "toilet-collyrium." *Bhangi* distinctly expresses what is called fashion in English, *mode* in French, e.g. in *Rāja-tar.* 7, 922 :

स शोभादायिनीर्भङ्गीः प्रावर्तयत मण्डले ।

निर्मत्सरो नरपतिः पुष्पतुरिव कानने ॥

मुक्तकेशा निरुष्णीषा निष्कलाभरणाः पुरा ।

सन्त्यज्यैकं महीपालमभवन्निह (Kashmir) देहिनः ॥

And then :

तेन राज्योचितो वेषस्तत्र राज्ञा प्रवर्तितः ।

And

दाक्षिणात्याभवद्भङ्गिः प्रिया तस्य विलासिनः ।

कर्णाटानुगुणष्टङ्कस्तस्तेन प्रवर्तितः ॥

² Comm. : अङ्गुष्ठिका विटपविशेषः । The plant is, under this name, unknown to the dictionaries.

drought threaten those kings in whose dominions they are found."

112. When a stone resists splitting, then kindle a fire with fuel from Butea and ebony. On being made red hot, and sprinkled with milk and water, the stone will burst.

113. Or boil water with ashes from Mokshaka.¹ When the stone, being heated, is seven times sprinkled with this decoction, joined with potash from reed-grass, it will burst.

114. Butter-milk, sour gruel, spirituous liquor, dolichos, and jujube fruits mixed together, and left to ferment for a week, will, by being used in sprinkling, surely make a stone burst, after it has been heated.

115. Take leaves and bark of Azadiracht; stalks of sesamum; Achyranthes; ebony fruits, and Menospermum. The potash of all these, liquefied with the stale of cows, being poured six times over a glowing stone, the stone will split.

116, 117.—The same as Ch. 50, st. 25, sq.

118. A pond extending in a direction from east to west retains the water much longer than one running from north to south, because the latter is more often exposed to rupture by the agency of billows roused by the wind. Let him who wishes to make such a pond stem the conflux of water by means of strong timber, or make the dams on every side from stones and the like, the soil being rendered hard by trampling of elephants, horses, etc.

119. The banks must be shaded by *Terminalia Arjuna*, banyan, mango, wavy-leaved fig, *Nauclea Kadamba*, along with Barringtonia, rose-apple, rotang, *Nauclea Nipa*, Barleria, tâl, Açoka and Bassia, intermingled with Bakula.

120. On one side let a flood-gate be made, in such a manner that the passage be built with stones, and let a pannel without fissures be fixed in a frame, and covered by grit heaped up against it.

121. (For clearing the water) let a mixture of antimony, round cyperus grass, Andropogon, powder of Koçâtaka and

¹ Comm. मोक्षको वृक्षः । यस्य मरुक् इति प्रसिद्धिः ।

emblemic myrobalan, combined with *Strychnos potatorum*, be put into a well.

122. If the water is muddy, sharp, salt, bad of taste or not pleasant of odour, it will by this mixture become clear, tasteful, very nice of smell, and possessed of other good qualities.

123. The asterisms which are propitious when commencing the sinking of wells, are Hasta, Maghâ, Anurâdhâ, Pushya, Dhanishthâ, Uttara-Phalgunî, U.-Ashâdhâ, U.-Bhadrapadâ, Rohiṇî and Çatabhishaj.

124. He (for whom a well is made) having made an oblation to Varuṇa, has, first, to cause a plug of banyan wood or rotang to be put into the soil at the place of the vein, while he honours it with flowers, perfumes, and incenses.

125. I have formerly,¹ after studying the opinions of Baladeva and others, set forth how rain-water is got after full-moon's day of Jyaishtṥa. The manner how to find spring-water has, secondly, been told by me, Varâha-Mihira, in this chapter, thanks to the Sages!

CHAPTER LV.

Culture of Trees.

1. Considering that water reservoirs without shade on the margin are not lovely, one ought to have gardens laid out on the banks of the water.

2. A soft soil is favourable to all sorts of trees. Let one thereon sow sesamum, which must be reaped when in bloom. This is the first work to prepare the ground.

3. Then plant in the garden or by the house, in the first place, auspicious trees, as Arishtṥa, Açoka, Rottleria, Sirîs, and Priyangu-trees.

4, 5. Bread-fruit, Açoka, plantain, rose-apple, Lakucha, pomegranate, grape, Pâlivata, citron, and *Gaertnera racemosa*, are trees that, on being smeared with cow-dung, should be

¹ Ch. 23, 1, sqq.

planted by slips, or carefully grafted on the root-stump or stem (of a different tree).¹

6. Trees having no branches yet, must be transplanted in the dewy season; those that have their branches developed, in winter-time; and those that are possessed with goodly stems, in the rainy season, care being taken that they are stationed in the particular direction suiting them severally.

7. Let trees, when being transplanted, be smeared all over the stem down to the root with ghee, root of Andropogon, oil wax, worm-seed, milk, and cow-dung.

8. The planter, duly purified, has to pay honour to the tree with washing and unguents before planting it. The tree, once set, will show the same foliage as it had before.

9. When the trees have been planted, they need to be watered morning and evening in summer;² during the day in the cold season, and whenever the soil is dry during the rains.

10, 11. Rose-apple, rotang, Vānīra-rotang,³ Nauclea, glomerous fig, *Terminalia Arjuna*, citron, grape, Lakucha, pomegranate, Dalbergia, Karanj, Tilaka, bread-fruit, Timira, and Spondias, are the sixteen trees, which, according to generally received opinion, require a moist ground.

12. The greatest space to be left between two trees is twenty cubits; the middling, sixteen; and the smallest, twelve.

13. Trees which, by growing too near one another, touch each other, and get their roots intermingled, are hindered, and do not yield fruit properly.

¹ Comm.: अन्यवृक्षस्य मूलच्छेदं कृत्वा तस्यच्छिन्नमूलस्योपरि विजातीयो वृक्षो रोपणीयः। अथवा स्कन्धार्धादन्यवृक्षं छित्त्वा तस्य स्कन्धमुत्कीर्य विजातीयो वृक्षो रोपणीयः। तच्च मृत्तिकाश्लेषं दापयेदिति ॥

² The reading घर्मर्तौ is preferable to घर्मर्तौ, because the latter does not occur, for aught we know, but in the sense of "end of summer"; yet, etymologically, it might as well signify "within summer-time."

³ *Vetasa* and *vānīra* clearly denote two varieties of rotang; the Indian lexicographers know nothing about the difference; for the distinction of plants they are not to be trusted, at least the edited works of Amara, etc.

14. By the agency of cold, wind, or heat, diseases are engendered,—either faded colour of foliage, stunted growth of shoots, seariness of branches, or flowing out of sap.

15. To heal the trees, first trim them with a knife, then smear them with worm-seed, ghee, and mud, and sprinkle them with milk and water.

16. In case a tree loses its power of bearing fruit, a sprinkling with a refrigerated decoction of milk, mixed with *Dolichos*, pease, beans, sesamum, and barley, will be conducive to a revival of the growth of fruits and blossoms.¹

17, 18. To promote the growth of the fruits and blossoms of trees, creepers, shrubs and plants, at all times, sprinkle them with a mixture of two *ādhakas*² of dung from sheep and goats in the form of powder, with one *ādhaka* of sesamum seeds, one *prastha* of flour, one *droṇa* of water, and one *tulā* of cow's-flesh, the whole to be infused during a week.

19, 20. Let a seed be steeped in milk, then (when being taken out) handled with a hand greased with ghee; moreover, let it be repeatedly rubbed with cow-dung, and suffumigated with flesh of hog and deer; thereupon, with an addition of fish-blubber and hog's-suet, let it be planted in a prepared soil, after ten days.³ Being sprinkled with milk and water, it will grow and bloom.

¹ Comm. : तथाच काश्यपः

तिलैर्मर्षिर्यवैर्मूत्रैः कुलत्थैः स्थापितं पयः ।

शीतेन सेको वृक्षाणां फलपुष्पाभिवृद्धये ॥

² An *ādhaka* = 64 *palas*; a *prastha* = 16 *palas*; a *droṇa* = 256 *palas*.

³ More accurately, as to the general purport, the Comm. : यस्य कस्य-
चिद्वृक्षस्य बीजं दश वासराणि दश दिनानि । दुग्धभावितां चीरेण सिक्तं
कार्यम् । कोदृशम् । आज्ययुतहस्तयोजितं आज्ययुतेन घृताभ्यक्तेन चीरेण
संयोजितं चीरमध्ये क्षिप्तं पुनर्गृहीत्वा घृताभ्यक्तेन करेण कीभूतं पुष्ट्यङ्गा-
र्यम् । एवं प्रत्यहं कर्म कार्यं यावद्दशदिनानि । ततो गोमयेन गोशकृता
वज्रशी बहन्वाराविरूक्षितं मर्दितं । क्रोडः सूकरः । मृगो हरिणः ।
क्रौडमार्गप्रिश्रितैर्मर्षैर्धूपितं भाण्डान्तरस्थं धूपयेत् । ततो मांसेना-
मिषेण सूकरवासया वाराहमज्जया समन्वितं समायुक्तं परिकर्मिता-

21. Even a tamarind produces a sprout when sprinkled with a compound of ground rice, pease, and sesamum, with flour and stale flesh, and afterwards repeatedly suffumigated with turmeric.

22. For making the wood-apple shoot, they use a combination of eight roots, viz. the root of Echites,¹ emblic myrobalan, Grislea, Gendarussa, thick-leaved rotang, and Sūryavallī,² Syām-latā and Dalbergia.

23. The recipe is this: let the wood-apple seed remain during a hundred pulsations³ in milk that has been boiled, mixed with the before-mentioned compound of eight roots, and afterwards wholly refrigerated; dry the seed every day in the sun's rays; repeat this for a month, and then plant it.

24. Dig a round pit, a cubit in diameter and twice as deep, fill it with such water as is described above; wait until the pit is dry and have it parched;⁴ then smear it with honey and ghee, along with ashes.

25. Fill it up again with ground pease, sesamum, barley, and clay; add to it an infusion from a mixture of water with fish and flesh; pound all this until it becomes a thick mass.

26. Plant the seed at a depth of four digits, and sprinkle it with an infusion of water blended with fish and flesh. Soon will a tendril with nice sprouts cover the porch in an astonishing way.

27, 28. Any seed, being steeped a hundred times in a paste of Alangium-fruit, or in its oil, or (the dregs and oil of) Cordia, will, when planted in clay, impregnated with hail-water, sprout instantaneously, and what wonder, that the branches should be loaded with fruits?

यामवनौ रोपितम् । परिकर्मिता तिलवापनेन (see st. 2). The reading मांस for मात्स्य has been noticed in the vv. rr.

¹ Comm. आस्त्रोटः शारिवा.

² The plant *sūryavallī* is not explained by Utpala: श्यामा प्रसिद्धा । केचित् त्रिवृद्धितोच्छन्ति ।

³ The reading is doubtful; Utpala has तालाशतम्, and explains ताला (v.l. ताली) हस्तशब्दः ।

⁴ Comm. शुष्कमग्निना प्रदहेत्.

29, 30. (When you wish to plant) *Cordia* seeds, take the precaution of stripping them of the shell and of steeping them, in the shade, seven times in water mixed with a thick sauce from *Alangium*-fruits; then rub them with buffalos' dung, and lay them in manure. Being afterwards planted in clay soaked with hail-water, they will produce fruit (so to say) in a day.

31. The asterisms declared by the Seers of transcendental wisdom to be favourable to the planting of trees are the Fixed asterisms (*i.e.* the three *Uttarâs* and *Rohiṇî*), the Mild asterisms (*i.e.* *Anurâdhâ*, *Citrâ*, *Mṛgaṣiras*, and *Revatî*), *Mûla*, *Viçâkhâ*, *Tishya*, *Çravana*, *Açvinî*, and *Hasta*.

CHAPTER LVI.

Description of various Temples.

1. Having made great water reservoirs and laid out gardens, let one build a temple, to heighten one's reputation and merit.

2. Let him who wishes to enter the worlds that are reached by meritorious deeds of piety and charity,¹ build a

¹ The definitions of *istâpūrta* all agree in the main point. *Utpala* quotes some of them :

इष्टं यच्चादिकं पूर्तं वापीकूपतडाकादिकम् ।

तथाचोक्तम्

इष्टं यच्चेषु यद्दानं ततो न्यत्पूर्तमिष्यते ।

इष्टाभिः पशुवन्धैश्च चातुर्मासैर्यज्ञैर्द्विजः ॥

अग्निष्टोमादिभिर्यज्ञैर्यो यजेत स इष्टवान् ।

वापीकूपतडाकादि देवतायतनानि च ॥

अन्नप्रदानमारामाः पूर्तमित्यभिधीयते ।

तथाच काश्यपः

इष्टापूर्तादिभिर्यज्ञैर्यावत् कुर्वन्ति मानवाः ।

अग्निष्टोमादिपशुभिरिष्टं यज्ञः प्रकीर्तितम् ॥

temple to the gods ; by doing which, he shows both (piety and charity).

3. The gods use to haunt those spots which by nature or artifice are furnished with water and pleasure-gardens.

4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Lakes where groups of lotuses like umbrellas ward off the sun's darting beams, and the waters receive access of brightness by the rows¹ of white water-lilies pushed aside by the shoulders of swans ; where swans, ducks, curlews and paddybirds utter their resounding notes, and fishes repose in the shade of Niculas on the brinks ; places where rivers flow, having curlews for their tinkling zone, singing swans for their melodious voice, the watersheet for their cover, and carps for their belt ; regions where streams have blooming trees on the margin, comparable to ear-ornaments, confluences not unlike to buttocks, sandy banks like to high-swelling bosoms, and merry laughter from the swans ; tracts of land in the neighbourhood of woods, rivers, rocks and cataracts ; towns, with pleasure-gardens : it is such grounds the gods at all times take delight in.

वापीकूपतडाकादि पूर्तमायतनानिच ।

स्वर्गस्थितिं सदा कुर्यात् तदा तत्पूर्तसञ्ज्ञितम् ॥

The word *yajna* in the first stanza of Kāç. is taken in its general sense of "act of religion"; in the same manner are "study" and "hospitality," two of the *yajnas*, i.e. religious duties. In Vedic language **इष्टापूर्त** means "merit owing to deeds of piety," and "reward of piety"; it nearly coincides with the later acceptance, and exactly corresponds to *punya*, "pious merit," and "reward of pious deeds," e.g. Ath. V. 2, 12, 4 :

इष्टापूर्तमवतु नः पितृणाम्

"The religious merits of the Manes may protect us." But R. V. 10, 14, 8 :

सं गच्छस्व पितृभिः सं यमेनेष्टापूर्तेन परमे व्योमन

"Meet with the Manes, with Yama, with the reward of pious deeds in the highest heaven." The sense of "satisfaction of wishes," attributed to the Vedic *ishṭāpūrta* in the Dictionary of B. and R., is based upon a wrong etymology, and is discountenanced by all the passages where it occurs. There is no doubt that in deriving *ishṭā* from *yaj*, the Indians are right ; a decisive passage is Ath. V. 7, 103.

¹ Read वीथी, as the Comm. has it, for वीची.

9. The several sorts of soil which we indicated, when treating of house-building, as suited to Brahmans, etc., are likewise recommended to persons of the different classes, when they wish to erect temples.

10. Let the area of a temple always be divided into sixty-four squares, while it is highly commendable to place the middle door in one of the four cardinal points.

11. The height of any temple must be twice its own width, and the flight of steps equal to a third part of the whole height (of the edifice).

12. The adytum measures half the extent (of the whole), and has its separate walls all around. Its door is $\frac{1}{4}$ of the adytum in breadth and twice as high.

13. The side-frame of the door has a breadth of $\frac{1}{4}$ of the altitude; likewise the threshold; the thickness of both door-posts is commonly stated to be equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ of the breadth.

14. A door with three, five, seven, or nine-fold side frames is much approved. At the lower end, as far as the fourth part of the altitude of the doorpost, should be stationed the statues of the two doorkeepers.

15. Let the remaining part be ornamented with (sculptured) birds of good augury, Çrîvṛksha-figures, crosses, jars, couples, foliage, tendrils, and goblins.

16. The idol, along with the seat (*i.e.* pedestal), ought to have a height equal to that of the door, diminished by $\frac{1}{8}$, of which two-thirds are appropriated to the image, and one-third to the seat.

17, 18, 19. Meru, Mandara, Kailâsa, Vimâna-figure, Nandana, Samudga, Padma, Garuḍa, Nandin, Vardhana, Kunjara, Guharâja, Vṛsha, Hansa, Sarvatobhadra, Ghaṭa, Sinha, Rotunda, Quadrangle, Octangle, and Sixteen-angle,—these are the names of the twenty kinds of shrines. I now proceed to describe their characteristics, following the order in which they have been enumerated.

20. The Meru is sexangular, has twelve stories, variegated windows,¹ and four entrances. It is 32 cubits wide.

¹ Comm. कुहरा अभ्यन्तरगवाक्षाः

21. The Mandara is 30 cubits in extent, has ten stories and turrets.¹—The Kailāsa, too, has turrets, and eight stories; it measures 28 cubits.

22. The Vimāna is 21 cubits in extent, and has latticed windows.²—The Nandana has six stories and sixteen cupolas; it measures 32 cubits.

23. The Samudga (*i.e.* round box) is round. The Padma (*i.e.* lotus) has the shape of a lotus, measures 8 cubits, has one spire, and only one story.³

24. The Garuda and Nandin show the form of the sun-eagle, are 24 cubits wide, must be constructed with seven stories, and adorned with twenty cupolas.⁴

25. The Kunjara (*i.e.* elephant) has a figure like an elephant's back, and is 16 cubits long, and broad at the bottom. The Guharāja likewise measures 16 cubits. Both have a roof with three dormer windows.⁵

26. The Vṛsha (*i.e.* bull) has a single story and one turret, is everywhere round, and measures 12 cubits. The Hansa has the form of a swan; and the Ghāṭa, being shaped like a water-jar, has an extension of 8 cubits.⁶

¹ Comm. तथाच काश्यपः

मन्दरः शिखरैर्युक्तः षडग्निर्यदंशभूमिकः ।

विंशद्विंशतश्च विस्तीर्णः प्रासादोऽयं द्वितीयकः ॥

² A copious description of diverse Vimānas or pyramidal shrines is to be found in Bām Bāz, Arch., p. 51, sqq.; and p. 48.

³ It must be understood that the signs of a Padma apply also to a Samudga, barring the shape.

⁴ The same is more clearly expressed by Kācyaapa :

गरुडो गरुडाकारः पक्षपुच्छविभूषितः ।

नन्दी तदाकृतिक्रौञ्चैः पक्षादिरहितः पुनः ॥

कराणां घटुतुष्कांश्च विस्तीर्णीं सप्तभूमिकौ ।

दशभिर्द्विगुणैरण्डैर्भूषितौ कारयेत्तु तौ ॥

⁵ The Comm. paraphrases चन्द्रशाला by चन्द्रसारिका (v.l. °शारिका); in Kācyaapa the word is used as m. or n. चन्द्रशाल.

⁶ To a Hansa belong the same qualifications as to the Vṛsha, except-

27. The Sarvatobhadra has four entrances, many summits, many beautiful dormer windows, and five stories, its extent being 25 cubits.

28. The Sinha is a building with twelve angles, and is covered by lions; it is 8 cubits wide. The four remaining (viz. Rotunda, Quadrangle, Octangle, and Sixteen-angle) are dark (in the interior). The Quadrangle has five cupolas (whereas the rest have one only).¹

29, 30. A story's altitude is of 108 digits, according to Maya, but Viçvakarman pronounces it to be of 3 cubits and a half (i.e. 84 digits). As to this, however, able architects have declared that (in reality) there is no discrepancy of opinion, for, if you add the height of the crown-work,² the smaller number will equal (the greater).

ing the form. A Ghaṭa differs from the former in other respects, but has the same number of stories and turrets.

¹ The statement in Kācāyapa is much more explicit:

सिंहः सिंहैः समाक्रान्तः कोणैर्द्वादशभिर्युतः ।
 विष्कम्भादष्टहस्तः स्यादेका तस्य च भूमिका ॥
 वृत्तो वृत्ताकृतिः कार्यः सञ्ज्ञातुष्यास्तथापरे ।
 सान्धकारास्तु सर्वे ते भूमिकैकसमायुताः ॥
 एकाण्डभूषिताः सर्वे पञ्चभिश्चतुरश्रकः ।

The Comm. adds: तत्र बहिर्द्वारात्प्रविश्य प्रासादस्य वामभागेनागत्य पुरतः प्रासादस्य द्वारं कार्यम् । तत्र मणिमयी प्रतिमा । तत्कान्था तत्र प्रकाश्यमुत्पद्यते ॥

² The word *kapotapḍlikā*, properly "dove-ridge, dove-list," may be rendered by crown-work, fillet, gable-edge, and even by cornice. In Tamil *kapotakam* is explained as being "a moulding in masonry"; see Winslow's Tam. Dict., i. v. Rām Rāz, Arch., p. 24, says: "A *kapotam* is a section of moulding made in the form of a pigeon's head. It is a crowning member of cornices, pedestals, and entablatures. When employed in the latter, it often connects utility with beauty, inasmuch as the beak of the bird is so placed as to serve the purpose of a spout."

31. Herewith are the characteristics of temples described in compendious form; it contains (in the main) the whole treatise composed by Garga on it. Of the voluminous works by Manu, etc., have I, in writing this chapter, only taken notice in as much as I remembered.

CHAPTER LVII.

On Diamond-Plaster.

1, 2, 3. Unripe ebony fruits, unripe wood-apples, blossoms of silk cotton, seeds of *Boswellia*, bark of *Dhanvan*, and *acorus*; combined with these substances, boil a *drona* of water, and, when the mass has sunk to an eighth of the volume, take the sediment, which combine with the following substances: turpentine, myrrh, bdellium, marking nut, resin of *Boswellia*,¹ and of *Shorea*, linseed, and *Bilva*-fruit. The paste, being mixed with these, is termed Diamond-plaster.

The same author notices (p. 51) that "the spout may be made to spring from the head of a lion, etc." With this, cf. *Utpala's* definition:

कपोतपालिकाग्रहणेन बहिर्निर्गतानि सिंहमुखानि काष्ठान्युच्यन्ते । and also *Viçvak.* 6, 767:

प्रासादौ निर्गतौ कार्थौ कपोतौ गर्भमानतः ।

ऊर्ध्वं भित्तुच्छयात्तस्य मञ्जरीं तु प्रकल्पयेत् ॥

मञ्जर्याश्चार्धभागेन शुकनासं प्रकल्पयेत् ।

ऊर्ध्वं तथार्धभागेन वेदीबन्धो भवेद्दिह ॥

Neither *kapotapālīkā*, nor its synonym *viṭanka*, have the meaning of "dovecot," as Colebrooke renders them in his *Amara-Kosha*. They never occur in that sense, and cannot by any means have such a meaning, on account of their etymology. *Viṭanka* is exactly the English "fillet," in its different acceptations; it denotes more generally also gable-edge, battlement. Colebrooke's error, strange to say, has been perpetuated in all dictionaries; the more reason now to draw attention to it.

¹ *Utpala* defines *kunduru* to be the resin of *Deodar*, देवदारुवृक्षनिर्घासः ।

4. This plaster, calefied, is to be applied on the roofs¹ of temples and mansions, on Çiva-emblems, idols, walls and wells, to last for a thousand, a million of years.

5, 6. Lac, resin of *Boswellia* (or of *Deodar*), bdellium, *Gr̥hadhūma*,² wood-apple, *Bilva*-kernels, fruits of *Uraria*, of ebony, of *Madana*, seed of *Bassia*, madder, resin of *Shorea*, myrrh and myrobalan; from these is extracted a second sort of Diamond-plaster, having the same qualities with the former, and to be used for the same purposes.

7. Another plaster termed Quasi-diamond³ is prepared from horn of cows, buffaloes, and goats, apes'-hair, buffalo-hide, and cow-hide, combined with *Azadiracht*, wood-apple, and myrrh.

8. A mixture of eight portions of lead, two portions of bell-metal, and one portion of iron-rust is mentioned by *Maya*, and known by the name of Diamond-compound.

CHAPTER LVIII.

Description of Idols.

1. The smallest particle of dust becoming visible where the sun shines through a lattice is to be considered an atom. In fact, this is the first of all measures.

2. An atom, a particle of dust, a tail-hair's end, a nit, a louse, a barleycorn, and a digit, are, successively, eight times

¹ Comm. वलभी वातायनम्; *vātāyanam* in general means "any place whither one goes to take an airing;" sometimes "a window" is intended by it, other times the flat "roof" of an Indian house. In the latter acceptation it is here used by *Utpala*, and frequently elsewhere, e.g. *Kathāsarit-sāg.* 95, 18, स्वगृहोत्तुङ्गवातायनागताः; 103, 162, हर्म्यवातायनारूढः, etc.

² Comm. गृहधूम आगारधूम आशयेति प्रसिद्धः

³ The comparative suffix *tara* here denotes a resemblance, or may be expressed by "almost, somewhat, quasi"; as in *açvātara*, a mule, properly "quasi-horse." The same interchange of significations is found in *pr̥ityas*, properly "more," Greek *πλεῖον*, and then "resembling, almost."—The Comm. exhibits the form *vajratala*.

larger than the preceding measure.¹ One digit is also the module.

3. One-third of the altitude of the door of a temple, diminished by one-eighth, is the measure for the seat of the image; the idol itself is twice as high.

4. The face (of a statue) is twelve of its own digits² long and broad. Nagnajit, however, notes a length of fourteen digits, which is a measure for Dravidas (barbarians).³

5. The nose, forehead, chin, and neck are four digits (*i.e.* modules) long; likewise the ears; the jaws two digits long and broad. The chin is two digits broad.

¹ The Comm. quotes a parallel passage, the former stanza of which recurs in Manu, viii. 132, whereas the latter wholly differs :

तथाच

जालान्तरगते भानौ यत्सूक्ष्मं दृश्यते रजः ।

प्रथमं तत् प्रमाणानां चसरेणुं प्रचक्षते ॥

तस्माद्रजः कचायं च लिङ्गा यूका यवो ऽङ्गुलम् ।

क्रमादष्टगुणं ज्ञेयं जिनसङ्ख्याङ्गुलैः शमः ॥

From an unknown author are the verses quoted by Bâpû-Deva in his edition of the Siddhânta-Cir. p. 52 :

वेश्मान्तः पतितेषु भास्करकरेष्वालोक्ष्यते यद्रजः

स प्रोक्तः परमाणुरष्टगुणितैस्त्रैरेव रेणुर्भवेत् ।

तैर्वालायमथाष्टभिः कचमुखैर्लीङ्गा च यूकाष्टभिः

स्यान्निभिश्च तदष्टकेन च यवो ऽष्टाभिश्च तैरङ्गुलम् ॥

² Digit has here no absolute, but a relative value; it is the module and equal to $\frac{1}{16}$ of the whole height of the idol, or $\frac{1}{8}$ of idol and seat together. Comm. यस्मात्काष्ठात्पाषाणादिकाद्वा प्रतिमा क्रियते तदैर्घ्यं पीठप्रमाणविवर्जितं द्वादशभागविभक्तं कृत्वा तत्रैको भागो नवधा कार्यः । सोऽङ्गुलसञ्ज्ञो भवति । यस्मादष्टाधिकमङ्गुलशतं प्रतिमा-प्रमाणं वक्ष्यति ।

³ Comm. तथाच नमजित्

विस्तीर्णं द्वादश मुखं दैर्घ्येण च चतुर्दश ।

अङ्गुलानि तथा कार्यं तन्मानं द्वाविडं स्मृतम् ॥

6. The forehead is eight d. in breadth. Two d. further off are the temples, being of four d. The ears are two d. broad.

7. The upper margin of the ear should be made in the same straight line with the brows, and at $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. distant (from the latter). The ear-hole and the eminence¹ near it lies in the same line with the extreme eye corner.

8. Vasishṭha puts the space between the extreme eye corners and eyes at four d. The under lip measures one digit, and the upper lip one half.

9. The dimple above the lip is half a digit. The mouth must be made four d. in extent and one d. and a half in thickness; an opened mouth is of three d. in the middle.

10. The nostrils extend two d.; at the end of the nostrils rises the nose, two d. high. The intervening space between the eyes is of four d.

11. The hole of the eye measures two d.; the eyes as many; the ball is equal to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the eye's measure, and the vision² of the pupil is equal to one-fifth of the ball. The aperture of the eye is one digit.

12. The brows, from one extremity to the other, have an extent of ten d.; the thickness of the line representing the brows is half a digit. The interstice between the brows is of two d., so that a single brow is four d. in extent.

13. The streak of hair should be made equal (in extent) to the brows conjoined, and half a d. thick. At the end of

¹ Comm. सुकुमारकं कर्णयोतःसमीप उन्नतभागः । नेत्रप्रबन्धशब्देन प्रमूषिकोच्यते ॥ At the further corner is the juncture, as it were, of two eyelids; hence the term *netraprabandha*: similarly the same is called *sandhi* in *Suṣrūta*, ii. p. 303.

² Comm. दृष्टारामध्यवर्तिनी कुमारी. This is right if we take *kumārī* or *kanīnikā* in the sense of the pupil's innermost part; cf. *Suṣrūta*, ii. p. 303:

नेत्रायामत्रिभागान्तु कृष्णमण्डलमुच्यते ।

कृष्णात् सप्तमिच्छन्ति दृष्टिं दृष्टिविशारदाः ॥

It must be taken into account that the vision in the pupil requires a larger measure in sculpture than in nature.

the eyes must be delineated the inner corner,¹ one d. in extent.

14. The head is thirty-two d. in circumference, and fourteen in extent (*i.e.* apparent width). In a picture, however, only twelve of them are visible, twenty not visible.

15. The face and the hair, put together, make up sixteen d. in length, as Nagnajit states it. The neck has a width of ten, a circumference of twenty-one digits.

16. From the neck down to the heart it is twelve d.; from the heart to the navel, as many; the same interval is prescribed to be kept from the centre of the navel down to the penis.

17. The upper legs measure twenty-four digits; the lower legs likewise; the insteps² four d., and the feet equally so (in height).

18. The feet are twelve d. long, and six broad; the great toes are three d. in length, and five in circumference; the second toe is three d. long.

19. The remaining toes should be less by one-eighth, in succession. The prescribed elevation of the great toe is $1\frac{1}{4}$ d.

20. The (measure of the) nail of the great toe is by the experts set down at $\frac{3}{4}$ d.; that of the other toes at $\frac{1}{2}$ d., or a little lessened for each succeeding toe.

21. The circuit of the leg at the extremity is stated to be of fourteen, and the breadth of five d.; but in the middle part the width is seven, and the circumference twenty-one.

22. The knees are, in the middle, eight d. in thickness, and twenty-four in circumference. The upper legs are, in their middle part, fourteen d. thick, their circuit being double.

23. The hip is eighteen d. broad and forty-four in circuit. The navel is one d. in depth and in extent.

24. The circumference of the middle, at the height of the navel, is of forty-two digits. The space between the two

¹ The inner corner, *karavīraka*, is also called *mūshikā* in a quotation from Kācyaapa.

² जानुकपित्ये (sic.) ये लोके चकालिके इति प्रसिद्धे । This *cakhalikam* or *cakhalikā* looks like a Prākṛt form of the diminutive of *cakra*, "disc."

paps is sixteen. The armpits are six d. higher up (in an oblique direction) than the paps.

25. The shoulders should be made eight d. broad. The arms, as well as the fore-arms, measure twelve (in length), the arms being six d. broad, and the fore-arms four.

26. The arms measure, at the upper end, sixteen, and at the wrist twelve digits. The palm is six broad and seven long.

27. The middle finger is five d.; the fore-finger is half a joint smaller; the ring-finger is equal to the fore-finger and the little finger less by a whole joint.

28. The thumb must have two joints, while the other fingers have three. The measure of a nail is equal to half a joint of the fingers respectively.

29. An image should be represented in such a way that its equipment, dress, ornaments, and outward form be in agreement with the country. By possessing the required characteristics an idol will, by its very presence, bestow prosperity.

30. Râma, the son of Daçaratha, and Bali, the son of Virocana, are a hundred and twenty digits (in height); the others, according to their being of the greatest, middling, or smallest size, measure 108, 96, or 84, respectively.

31. Our Lord Vishṇu may be represented either with eight arms, with four, or with two arms, his breast being marked by the Çrīvatsa-figure and adorned with the Kaustubha gem.

32. He is darkish as lin blossom, clad in a yellow garment, shows a serene face, wears earrings and a topped crown,¹ and has the neck, chest, shoulders, and arms thick.

33. In his right hands he bears a sword, a club, and an arrow, while with the fourth hand he bestows his blessings.² In his left hands is a bow, a buckler, a discus, and a conch.³

¹ The word *kirīṭa* is a semi-Prākṛt form of a word that has been lost in Skr., but survives in the Latin *crista*. Similarly the Skr. *jaṭhara* has arisen out of *jastara*, Greek γαστήρ.

² शान्तिदः च° in the text is a misprint for °दश्च°.

³ Comm. कार्मुकं धनुः शार्ङ्गम् । खेटकं परः । चक्रं सुदर्शनम् । शङ्खश्च पाञ्चजन्यः ।

34. If you prefer to make Viṣṇu four-armed, let one hand be represented as if he were in the act of bestowing his blessing, and the other holding a club; this for the right side; in the left hands is the conch and the discus.

35. Of a two-armed image the right hand is (represented as) giving a blessing, and the left as holding a conch. In this manner let the idol of Viṣṇu be framed by those who are desirous of happiness.

36. Baladeva must be made having a plough in his hand, with eyes lively from drink, and wearing a single earring. His complexion is fair like a conch shell, the moon, or lotus fibre.

37. The goddess Ekānaṇḍā¹ should be made betwixt Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa, with the left hand resting on her hip, and with the other holding² a lotus.

38. If it is intended to make her four-armed, then let her hold a lotus and a book in her left hands, while, on the right, she confers a boon on the supplicants with one hand and holds a rosary in the other.

39. The left hands of an eight-armed Ekānaṇḍā should contain a drinking pot, a bow, a lotus, and a book; the right arms a gift, an arrow, a mirror, and a rosary.

40. Sāmba is figured with a club in his hand; Pradyumna as handsome, and holding a bow. Both are accompanied by their wives, bearing a buckler and a sword.

41. Brahman (the Creator) has four faces, a drinking pot in his hand, and is seated on a lotus. Skanda looks boy-like, holds a javelin, and has a peacock for ensign.

42. Indra has a white, four-tusked elephant, in his hand the thunderbolt, and, besides, another characteristic, viz. a third eye placed horizontally on his forehead.

43. Īśvara has a crescent on his head, a bull for ensign, and

¹ Ekānaṇḍā is one of the forms of Durgā in her quality of Hecate; cf. Kathāsarit-S. 53, 171.

² The ungrammatical partic. *udvahatī* is used without any necessity, as the author might have availed himself of the 3rd pers. *udvahati*. All MSS., however, agree.

a third eye high on his brow ; in one hand the trident, and in the other the bow Pināka. Or, also, his left part may consist of the half-part of Pārvatī.

44. The Buddha ought to be represented seated upon a lotus, and looking as if he were the father of mankind, with hands and feet marked by lotuses, with a placid countenance, and very short hair.¹

45. The god of the Jainas is figured naked, young, handsome, with a calm countenance, and arms reaching down to the knees ; his breast is marked with the Çrīvatsa figure.

46. The Sun ought to be made with elevated nose, forehead, lower leg, thigh, cheek and breast, and clad in the dress of the Northerners, so as to be covered from the feet upwards to the bosom.

47. He holds two lotuses growing out of his hands, wears a diadem and a necklace hanging down, has his face adorned with earrings, and a girdle² round his waist.

48. The Sun when made with a body protected by a corslet, a complexion fair, like the interior of the white water-lily, a smiling and placid face, and a light crown brilliant through the gems, bestows bliss upon the maker.

49. A statue (of him) one cubit high is beneficial ; one that measures two cubits in altitude brings wealth ; an image of three cubits promotes peace ; and one of four, abundance.

50. An idol (of the Sun) with excessive limbs bodes peril from the monarch ; one with undersized limbs, infirmity to the maker ; one with a thin belly, danger of famine ; one that is lean, loss of wealth.

51. When it shows a wound, you may predict the maker's death by the sword. By being bent to the left, it destroys his wife ; by being bent to the right, life.

52. It causes blindness by having its eyes turned upwards, and care, by the eyes being downcast. These good and evil

¹ Another r. has *sunīla*, "very dark" ; a third, *sunīta*, "well trimmed."

² Read *विद्यङ्ग*, and see Dict. of B. and R. i. v. The word is taken from the Bactrian *aiwydonha*.

tokens, as told in respect to the Sun's statue, apply to all idols.

53. (For the construction of an emblem of Çiva), set out in the length the (measure of the) circumference¹ of the round part, and divide the whole phallus into three portions, of which the part at the bottom must be quadrangular, that in the midst octangular, and the rest round.

54. Sink the quadrangular portion into a pit in the earth, and put the middle member into the cavity of the pedestal. The pedestal is visible upwards to its cavity, in all directions, over an extent equal to its height.²

55. A phallus being excessively lean and long, destroys the country; one which has lost its side, tends to the ruin of the town; one damaged at the top is pernicious.

56. The host of divine Mothers have to be made with the characteristics corresponding to those of the gods whose names they bear.³ Revanta is figured mounted on horse-back, with Chase, Sport, etc., for his attendants.

57. Yama holds a club, and is seated on a buffalo. Varuṇa

¹ i.e. the length of a stone slab, piece of wood, etc., destined to serve for the phallus, should be made equal to the circumference of the upper part.

² This is awkwardly expressed; Comm. एतदुक्तं भवति । यावत्प्रमाणं वृत्तभागस्य दैर्घ्यं तावत्प्रमाणं समन्ततः पीठिकापृथुत्वं कार्यमिति ॥ Utpala is wrong in taking दृष्टोच्छ्राय for a compound, but as the round portion and the middle part have the same altitude, the results remain the same. पिण्डका is a misprint for पिण्डिका.

³ Comm.: ब्रह्मणो यस्मिन् ब्रह्मा कमण्डलुकरश्चतुर्मुखः पङ्कजासनश्चेति ब्रह्माय्याः कार्यम् । कार्थोऽष्टभुजो भगवानिति वैष्णव्याः । शम्भोः शिरसीन्दुकलेति रौद्र्याः । स्कन्दः कुमाररूप इति कुमार्थाः । शुक्लश्चतुर्विषाणो द्विपो महेन्द्रस्य वज्रपाणित्वमित्येन्द्र्याः । दण्डी यमो महिषग इति याम्यायाः । हंसारूढस्य पाशभृद्वरुण इति वारुण्याः । नरवाहनः कुबेर इति कौबेर्याः । एवमन्यासां नारसिंहीवाराहीविनायकीनामप्यूहम् । किन्तु तासां स्तनशोभा मध्यचामता नितम्बवैपुल्यं कर्तव्यं येन प्रकारेण स्त्रीरूपस्य शोभा जायत इति ॥

is mounted on a swan, and bears a noose. Kubera is carried by men, wears a crown bent to the left, and has a big belly.

(58. The chief of the Goblins is represented with an elephant's face with one tusk, a prominent belly, bearing a hatchet, and having in his hand a tarnip of very dark foliage and root.)¹

¹ Comm. : यदुक्तं तत्सर्वं कार्यम् अनुक्तं लोकतो दृष्ट्या कार्यमिति ॥
तथाच काश्यपः.

एकदंष्ट्रो गजमुखश्चतुर्बाहुर्विनायकः ।
लम्बोदरः स्थूलदेहो नेत्रत्रयविभूषितः ॥
ब्रह्मा चतुर्मुखो दण्डी कृष्णाजिनकमण्डली ।
विष्णुश्चतुर्भुजः शार्ङ्गशङ्खचक्रगदाधरः ॥
श्रीवत्साङ्कः पीतवासा वनमालाविभूषितः ।
नरसिंहः स्थूलदेहो रोमावर्तविभूषितः ॥
उद्धाटितमुखः स्रग्वी वह्निकान्तिर्वृहद्भुजः ।
वाराहः सूकरमुखश्चतुर्बाहुर्विभूषितः ॥
नीलाञ्जनचयप्रस्थो ध्यानासक्तः सुलोचनः ।
ईश्वरो जटिलस्त्र्यक्षो वृषचन्द्रार्कभूषणः ॥
उरगेन्द्रोपवीती च कृत्तिवासाः पिनाकधृत् ।
चण्डिकाष्टादशभुजा सर्वप्रहरणान्विता ॥
अत्रा सिंहस्था धन्या महिषासुरसूदनी ।
मयूरवाहनः स्कन्दः शक्तिकुक्कुटधारकः ॥
सुरूपदेहो विक्रान्तो देवसेनापतिः शिशुः ।
आदित्यस्तरुणः स्रग्वी कवची खड्गधृत्तथा ॥
तेजस्वी पङ्कजकरः षट्पुत्रश्च (?) किरीटवान् ।
ऐरावणश्चतुर्दन्तः श्वेतदन्तो महागजः ॥
तदारूढो महेन्द्रसु वज्रहस्तो महाबलः ।
तिर्यग्गलाटगं नेत्रं तृतीयं तस्य कारयेत् ॥
नीललोहितवर्णाभा शची तस्य समीपगा ।
एवं देवगणाः सर्वे स्वायुधाभरणोज्ज्वलाः ।
कर्तव्या ह्यनुरूपाश्च समुर्णाः शुभलक्षणाः ॥

For षट्पुत्रः we have perhaps to read प्रोङ्गनुः "with prominent jaws."

CHAPTER LIX.

Solemn ingress into the forest.

1. The solemn ingress into the forest ought to take place on a day propitious to the maker, calculated by the astrologer and boding luck, when, moreover, the auguries are favourable for setting out.

2, 3, 4. Trees growing on cemeteries, roads, temple precincts, ant-hills, public gardens, hermitages, sacred spots, near river confluences, or such trees as require being watered from jars, or such as are stunted, hurt by younger or upspringing trees and creepers, or injured by lightning and wind, or fallen spontaneously, damaged by elephants, sear, parched by fire, or inhabited by bees,—all such have to be avoided; whereas those with sleek leaves, blossoms, and fruits, insure good luck. On going to the tree selected, let one pay worship to it with an oblation and flowers.

5. Propitious to Brahmans are Deodar, sandal-tree, Sami and Bassia. Soap-berry, Pipal, Khayir, and Bilva-tree promote the prosperity of Kshatriyas.

6. *Terminalia tomentosa*, Khayir, Seduari and Dalbergia promise well to Vaiçyas; and ebony, Rottleria, *Terminalia tomentosa*, *Terminalia Arjuna*, mango and Shorea, to Çûdras.

7. Mark the quarters on the tree, as well as its upper and lower end, since a phallus or an idol ought to be thus placed that its sides are turned to the same directions.

8. Let due honour be paid to the tree with milk porridge, sweetmeats, boiled rice, curds, sesâsum seeds, partially squeezed out,¹ spouted cakes,² and such like, along with spirituous liquors, flowers, incense, and perfumes.

9. In the night do worship to the gods, Manes, imps,

¹ Comm.

² Utpala gives no definition of *ullopikâ*, which at any rate is a sort of sweetmeat; *ullup* means “to bedrop, to spout,” not as the Dict. of B. and R. i. v. has it, “to pick up, to take out.”

giants, serpents, demons, goblins, urchins,¹ etc., and, in touching the tree, say :

10. "Thou art destined to serve for the idol of such and such a god. Hail to thee, O tree! accept our worship fittingly."

11. "May those beings who are living here, on receiving our tribute of honour paid in due form, take up their abode elsewhere! May they now excuse us! Reverence be to them!"

12. The next morning, having sprinkled the tree with water, begin to cut it on its north-eastern side with an axe smeared with honey and ghee, and proceed cutting in such a way as to keep the tree always to your right.

13. If the tree comes down to the east, north-east, or north, it brings good speed; its coming down to the south-east, south, and so forth, will have for results, respectively, burning by fire, famine, sickness, loss of horses.

14. The omens observed at the cutting and falling down, as well as the tokens seen in the interior of the timber-wood, which are not mentioned in this chapter, have previously been indicated by me in the chapters on Indra's banner and on house-building. Those have to be taken into account on this occasion also.

CHAPTER LX.

Setting up of Statues.

1. Let a skilled man construct in the north² or east a shed for the inauguration ceremony, with four archways, and covered with sprouts from auspicious trees.

2. For the east side of the shed are prescribed variegated wreaths and streamers; for the south-east side, red ones; for the south and south-west, black ones.

3. They must be white in the west, pale yellow in the

¹ Comm. विनायका विघ्नाः, i.e. vexing spirits, or in German "Poltergeister."

² The Comm. has याम्ययाम्, "in the south."

north-west, variegated on the north side, and yellow in the north-east.

4. An idol, being of wood or clay, promises long life, fortune, strength, and victory; one of precious stone, tends to the weal of the people at large; a golden one yields prosperity.

5. One of silver bestows renown; one of copper, increase of progeny. A statue or phallus of stone insures a great acquirement of ground.

6. An image being hurt by a pin kills a person of eminence and the family; one being damaged with a pit, produces diseases and endless calamities.

7. After smearing (with cow-dung) a plot of ground within the shed, and strewing it with sand, then, with sacrificial grass, lay the head, pillow, and feet of the statue on a throne.

8, 9, 10. Let the image, with the head to the east, be bathed with an infusion of wavy-leaved fig, Pīpal, glomerous fig, Sirīs, and banyan, mixed with all sorts of auspiciously named plants, with sacrificial and other grass, with clay dug up by elephants and bulls from mountains, ant-hills, confluences, river banks, and lotus-grown lakes, joined to water from holy bathing-places and the five products of cows,¹ the whole combined with scents and water containing gold and jewels. Let the bathing be performed amid the sounds of various musical instruments, solemn shouts, and the recital of holy texts.

11. Eminent Brahmans have to mutter prayers addressed to Indra, in the east; prayers to Agni, in the south-east; for doing which they ought to be honourably rewarded.

12. Let the special priest make an offering also to Fire, with prayers addressed to the god whose idol is being consecrated. The symptoms of the fire have been indicated by me in treating of the raising of Indra's banner.

13. A fire wholly shrouded with smoke, turned to the left and casting sparks at every instant, is not auspicious. The reciting priest's failing in his memory or stepping forward is pronounced to be unpropitious.

¹ Viz., cow's stale, dung, milk, curds, and ghee.

14. When the statue has been bathed, clad in a new garment, smartly adorned and honoured with flowers and perfumes, let the person, whose function it is to set it up, put it on a nicely-spread bed.

15. After the sleeping idol has been consecrated with wakes, dancing, and song, they have to proceed to its setting up at a period indicated by the astrologer.

16. Let the image, worshipped with flowers, unguents, amid the sounds of horns and musical instruments, be led, with all precaution, round the shrine, in such a manner that the latter is always kept on the right side.¹

17. Thereupon, make a copious oblation to treat Brahmans and fashionable people, and, after a piece of gold has been deposited in the cavity of the seat, let the image be placed upon the base.

18. By particularly honouring the setter-up, astrologer, Brahmans, fashionable people, and carpenter, one shall inherit good things in this world, and heaven in the next.

19. The priests of Vishṇu are generally styled Bhāgavatas; those of the Sun, Magi; of Īṣa, Ash-smeared priests;² those of the divine Mothers, are termed Adepts in the rites of the Mothers' circle; those of Brahman, Priests; the followers of the all-benevolent Saint (*i.e.* the Buddha) are known as Īṣākyas; those of the Jinas, as Naked Monks. These different priests have to perform, agreeably to the rule peculiar to each sect, the ceremony in honour of the god of whom they are the devotees.

20, 21. The raising of idols is favourable when the sun is in his northern course, the moon during the bright half of the month being stationed in a sign, half-sign, etc., of Jupiter's domain, an immovable sign and immovable³ ninth-

¹ Comm. अधिवासनमण्डपान्निष्क्रम्य प्रादक्षिणेन प्रासादस्य गर्भगृहं प्रवेशयेत् ।

² Comm. पाशुपतानित्यर्थः ।

³ Comm. वृषकुक्षयोरन्यतमे । तथान्यस्त्रिंशुनर्कटकन्यातुलाधन्वि-
मीनानामन्यतमे स्थिरनवांशकोदये ।

part being on the horizon, the benevolent planets standing in the fifth, ninth, first, fourth, seventh, or tenth House, and the malign in the Houses of Increase (*i.e.* third, sixth, tenth, and eleventh), whilst the lunar asterism of the date may be some of the fixed or mild ones,¹ Çravana, Tishya or Svāti, on a fit day of the week, Tuesday excepted.

22. Here have I given in succinct form a general description of a ceremony that tends to the weal of everybody, but in the work of Sāvitra's, the inauguration and setting up are treated separately.

CHAPTER LXI.

Signs of Cows.

1. Henceforth I give a brief account of the knowledge of the good and evil signs of cows which Parāçara of yore communicated to Bṛhadratha. As a general rule, all cows are of good omen; yet I will enumerate the divers characteristics in conformity to authoritative lore.

2. Kine with dripping, filthy, coarse, or mouse-like eyes bring no good; nor those that have wavering, flat horns, are dark red or of the colour of donkeys.

3, 4. Cows with ten, seven, or four teeth, with drooping hornless head, depressed back, short thick neck, a middle shaped like a barleycorn, split hoofs, a blackish excessively long tongue, very slender or very big ankles, too large hump, lean body, and having too few or superfluous limbs, are held in bad esteem.

5. A bull, too, exhibiting the same characteristics, brings no luck; nor does one that has too big and excessively hanging testicles, a breast wholly covered with veins, cheeks covered with thick veins, and one that urines in three diverging jets.

6. A bull of russet or dark red colour, with cat's eyes, brings no good, though he has value for a Brahman. An

¹ Comm. उत्तराक्षितयं रोहिणी चेति ध्रुवाणि । मृगशिरश्चिचानु-
राधा रेवती च मृदूनि ।

animal with black lips, palate, and tongue, and continually blowing, is pernicious to the flock.

7. A bull that has the colour of a black antelope, has a white belly, makes too much dung, is possessed with a gross gland and huge horns, must be parted with, although he be home-bred ; if not, he will bring ruin upon the flock.

8. A bull being partly ashy, partly red of colour, with dark spots on his members and cat's eyes, brings no luck, not even to Brahmans, should they accept such a one.

9. Bullocks that being put to the carriage move on in a manner as if they drew their feet out of the mud, and have a slender neck, timid eyes, and a depressed back, are not fit for carrying loads.

10, 11, 12. But such as have soft yet compact red lips, small buttocks, a red palate and tongue, small, short and erected ears, well-shaped belly and straight legs, somewhat red and compact hoofs, a broad chest, a great hump, a sleeky, soft and thin skin and hair, red and slender horns, a thin tail reaching to the ground, red eye-corners, a long breath, shoulders like a lion's, a thin and small dewlap,—such are esteemed as being good runners.

13. Bullocks¹ showing hair-crinkles which are turned to the left on the left side, and others running to the right on the right side, and having legs like those of a roe, bring good luck.

14. Such as have eyes hued like the beryl-stone, or surrounded by a white circle,² or formed like a water-bubble,

¹ It need scarcely be pointed out that the nomin. case *anaḍuḥaḥ*, is ungrammatical.

² Comm. दृष्ट्वाण्डलबाह्यो मल्लिकाकुसुमसदृशो राज्ञो यस्य भवन्ति स मल्लिकाक्षः । तथाच शालिहोत्रः

शुक्लराजिपरिचिते यस्मान्तर्लोचन शुभे ।

मल्लिकाक्षो महाधन्यः स ह्यः कृष्णतारकः ।

The corresponding passage of Parācara, however, has :

मृदुसंहतताम्रौष्ठास्तनुजिह्वास्तनुस्फिजः ।

वैडूर्यमधुवर्णस्य जलबुद्बुदसन्निभैः ॥

रक्तस्निग्धस्य नयनैस्तथा रक्तकनीनिकैः ।

and exhibit thick eyelids and unsplit ankles, are highly valued, and all of them fit for carrying loads.

15. A bullock having a wrinkled snout, a cat-like face, being white on the right side, or else resembling in colour the red water-lily, dark lotus, or lac, and furnished with a nice tail, is equal to a horse in speed.

16. An animal with a scrotum hanging low, a sheep's belly, squat groins and breast, is certainly fit for burden and travel, equal to a horse in speed, and conducive of good results.

17. A white one with russet eyes, or with red horns and eyes, with a large mouth, is termed a "swan,"¹ and declared to promise good luck, and to be the increaser of the flock.

18. A motley one with a tail touching the soil, with reddish groins, red eyes, and a big hump, will soon render his owner the possessor of Fortune.

19. Others also, of any colour, but having one leg white, bode good. Where one with absolutely auspicious signs is not procurable, another of partially good promise is acceptable.

CHAPTER LXII.

Signs of Dogs.

1. A dog that has three feet furnished with five nails, but the right fore-foot with six, whose lips and muzzle are red, that has a lion's gait, and smells the ground in going, the tail being shaggy, the look like a bear's, the ears hanging and soft,—such a dog being kept in a house promises ere long great luck to him by whom he is fed.

2. A bitch with five nails on each foot, but six on the left fore-foot, with eyes surrounded by a white circle, with crooked tail, and having a brown colour and hanging ears, protects the domain of the feeder.

¹ In a similar case we should use the term "phoenix." When a learned man is called *paramahansa*, it may be rendered by "a great phoenix." In fact, both *hansa* and 'phoenix' were symbolical names of the Sun.

CHAPTER LXIII.

Signs of Cocks.

1. A white cock with straight wings and talons, with red face, nails, and crest, and crowing sonorously at the end of night, brings weal to the king, his subjects, and horses.

2. A cock with a barleycorn-shaped neck, or of the hue of a ripe jujube fruit,¹ or big-headed, or glittering with many colours, is much prized for fighting, whereas one of the hue of honey or bees insures victory. Any cock differing from such as described, with a weak and small voice, or halting, is not esteemed.

3. A hen with soft and pleasant voice, with sleek body, bright face and eyes, likewise promises to kings fortune, renown, triumph and success.

CHAPTER LXIV.

Signs of Tortoises.

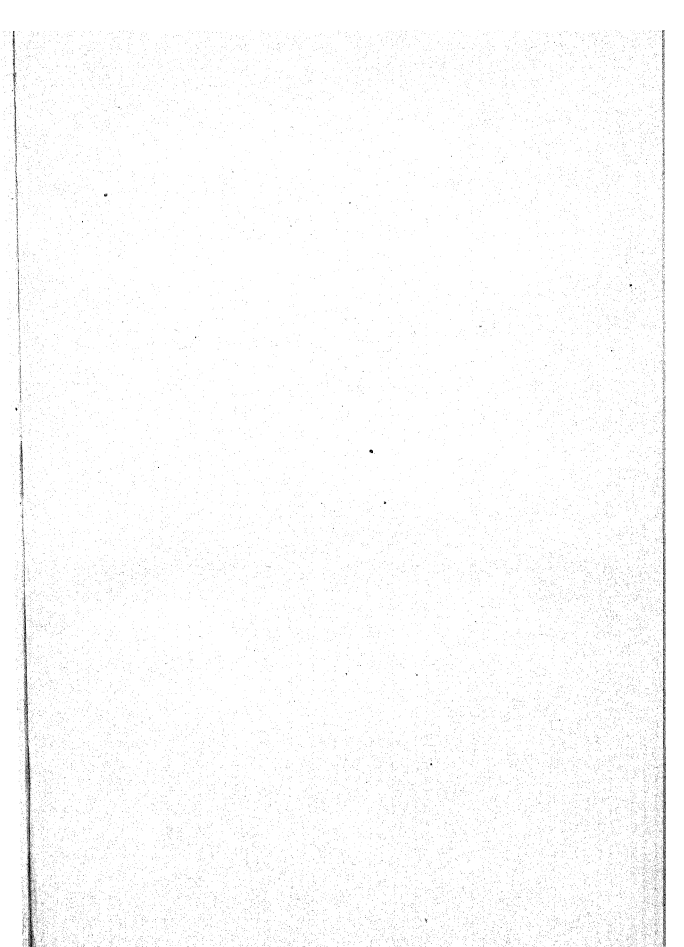
1. A tortoise being hued like crystal or silver, variegated with dark streaks, with a body round as a pot, and with a nice backbone, or having a rosy body speckled with dots like white mustard seeds, promotes, when kept in the house, the grandeur of any prince.

2. A turtle dark-hued like collyrium or bees, variegated with dots, perfect in limbs and body, or one with a thick neck and a head like a snake's, equally tends to the weal of realms.

3. A tortoise shining like beryl-stone, with a thick neck, a triangular shape, a nice backbone, and well-concealed cavities, is likewise of good augury. Let kings, for the sake of auspiciousness, keep the animal in an artificial pond, or in a basin supplied with water.

¹ Comm. चवसदृशयीवः । यवशिरा लोके प्रसिद्ध इति । यो वा बद-
रसदृशो लोहितवर्णः सुपक्वबदरफलाभ इत्यर्थः ।

(To be continued.)



BENGAL COINS.



1



7



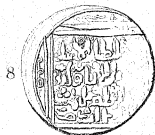
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ART. XIII.—*The Initial Coinage of Bengal, under the Early Muhammadan Conquerors. Part II. Embracing the preliminary period between A.H. 614-634 (A.D. 1217-1236-7).* By EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S.

THE discovery of an undisturbed hoard of no less than 13,500 coins in Kooch Bihár, inhumed some five centuries since, recently claimed attention both from the number and importance of its representative specimens, which so effectively illustrated the history of the kingdom of Bengal for a consecutive period of some 107 years.¹ The earliest date thus accorded towards the purely Initial Coinage of the country under its newly-installed Muslim administrators did not reach higher than the reign of the Empress Ríziyah, A.H. 634-637 (A.D. 1236-1239), or more than 34 years after the first entry of the adventurous *Khilji* and *Túrki* troops into the recognized Hindú capital of the lower Ganges.² A still more recent discovery of a comparatively poor man's *cache*, in the fort of Bihár,³ elucidates an earlier chapter of the local annals; and though the contents of the earthen vessel in this case are limited in number to a total of 37 pieces, and restricted in their dates to a term of 13 years, they, in some respects, compete advantageously with the previously-recovered unexampled store, in the value of their contributions

¹ Journ. R.A.S. (N.S.) Vol. II., 1866, p. 145. Reprinted in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xxxvi., 1867, p. 1.

² The name of Nuddea, नवद्वीप, *Navadvīpa*, the "new island" (converted into نودیة by the Muslims), would seem to imply a southerly movement, in concert with the silt of the Ganges, of the seat of Government down to the comparatively modern occupation of this site, on the abandonment of the successive traditional capitals of earlier dynasties.

³ I have no information as to the exact circumstances of the discovery of this small hoard, beyond the general intimation that it was secured by Mr. A. M. Broadley, C.S., in or near the Fort of Bihár. The coins have now become the property of Colonel Guthrie, who had already contributed the materials for my earlier notice of the Initial Coinage of Bengal. I understand that a description of these pieces is to be included in Mr. Broadley's forthcoming account of his antiquarian researches at Bihár (*Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal*, July, 1872, p. 120); but I have not considered that such a promised publication need interfere with a completion of my previous article in this *Journal* by the aid of these new acquisitions.

to the obscure records of the Gangetic Delta, and in priority of date bring us more than 20 years nearer to the first occupation of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyár *Khilji* in 600 A.H. As in the larger and almost-regal treasure trove of Kooch Bihár, the specimens in the present instance prove to be essentially of home or indigenous fabric. With the exception of a single northern piece of the supreme *Sultán* of India, they are one and all the produce of the mints of Bengal proper, and mark with singular fidelity the varied incidents of the alternate rise and fall of the provincial governors during the unsettled relations existing between suzerain and vassal from A.H. 614 to 627, when Altamsh came into real and effectual possession of the south-eastern portion of his Empire.

One of the most instructive facts disclosed by these few pieces is, that the rich and comparatively undisturbed territory of Bengal felt the want of a supply of *silver* money long before a similar demand arose in the harassed provinces of the north-west. The southern coins date, as far as can be seen, some nine years prior to Altamsh's earliest effort at a silver coinage in his northern dominions; and even Riẓiáh's silver money of deferred date bears every token of exclusive manufacture in the subordinate Lakhnautí mint.

I have already quoted the testimony of Minháj-us-Siráj, to the effect, that on the first conquest of Bengal by the Muslims, they found no metallic or other circulating media of exchange except that supplied by *cowries*; ¹ even the compromise of the mixed silver and copper *jitals* of the various Hindú dynasties of the central Rájput tribes was unknown in the sea-board marts of the south.

The chronicles of the proximate kingdom of Orissa, whose boundaries touched if they did not often trench upon the ancient kingdom of Gaur,² explain how so infinitesimal

¹ J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 148. See also Hamilton's *Hindustán*, i., p. 40.

² Mr. Stirling says, under the Ganga Vansa line, for a period of nearly four centuries (from A.D. 1132), the boundaries of the Ráj of Orissa may be stated as follows: . . . "North, a line drawn from the Tribeni or Triveni ghat above Hágli, through Bishenpúr, to the frontier of Patkúm: East, the river Hágli and the sea."—*As. Res.* xv., p. 164. Hunter, i., p. 280. "To the north of the mouth of the Saraswatí lies the broad and high Tribeni Ghát, a magnificent flight of steps,

and largely distributed a currency was able to supply the wants of so rich and essentially commercial a population. It would appear, from the official records preserved in the Temple at Púri, that although there was no silver money in use, gold in convenient weights, if not in the form of absolute coin,¹ was freely interchangeable with the more bulky heaps of cowries. In these same official *Palm-leaf* documents we find the powerful King of Orissa, Anang Bhím Deo (A.D. 1174-1201), describing the geographical limits of his kingdom, specifying, with close exactitude, its now *proved* superficial area (39,407 square miles); and adding that, as the revenues of his predecessors of the Kesari line had amounted, with a more limited extent of territory, to 15,00,000 *marhs* of gold, so his own added boundaries had raised the State income to 35,00,000 *marhs*. Mr. Stirling (our most trusted Revenue authority), relying upon still-extant local tradition, defined the *mark* at 5 *máshas'* weight;² while Dr. Hunter, under later and more vague native inspiration, pronounces it to be $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *karishá*, which measure may be assumed to represent the local pronunciation of the old widely-spread *karsha* of Manu, corresponding with the normal weight of the gold *suvarṇa*, i.e. 80 *ratis*.³ Taking the *rati* at 1.75 grains, this will make Mr. Stirling's return amount to 43.75 grains ($5 \times 5 = 25$; $25 \times 1.75 = 43.75$) per *mark*; whereas Dr. Hunter's estimate, under the same figures, would only produce 35 grains ($140 \div 4 = 35$); but, as he assumes the modern *karishá* to be equal to "one *Toláh* or one Rupee" of our modern system,—the amount of which however he does not further define,⁴—and taking the 180 grain total as the

said to have been built by Mukund Deo, the last Gajpati of Orissa."—Blochmann, *As. Soc. Bengal*, 1870, p. 282.

¹ On the above occasion, likewise, a new coin and seal were struck by the Rája's orders, with the titles which are used to this day by the Khárda Rájas, who claim to represent the majesty of this once powerful race. They run thus: *Vira Sri Gajapati, Gauréswara*, etc. "The illustrious Hero, the Gajapati (Lord of Elephants), sovereign of Gaura (Bengal), Supreme Monarch over the rulers of the tribes of Utkala, Kernáta, and the nine forts," etc.—Stirling, *As. Res.* xv., p. 272.

² *Asiatic Researches*, xv., p. 271. Mr. Stirling, however, seemed to imagine that the sum named for the total revenues, as tested by this estimate, was too high; but later investigations fully support the reasonable measure of the King's boast.

³ *J.R.A.S.*, II., pp. 169, 170. *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, p. 221.

⁴ "Orissa," a continuation of the "Annals of Rural Bengal," (London, Smith &

test,¹ the result is not far removed from Mr. Stirling's earlier estimate under the old régime;—producing, in effect, a return of 45 grains for the *mark* ($180 \div 4 = 45$). But, singular to say, if we revert to the more ancient standard of the *ṣataraktika*, or 100-*rati*² weight,—a metric division which was reproduced and reaffirmed in the authorized *tankah* of the Pathán dynasty, and to which we have to allow a theoretical weight of 175 grains,—Dr. Hunter's $\frac{1}{4}$ *toldh* will come out to the exact second place of decimals of the 43.75 ($175 \div 4 = 43.75$), obtained from Mr. Stirling's data.

The determination of the true weight of the *rati* has done much both to facilitate and give authority to the comparison of the ultimately divergent standards of the ethnic kingdoms of India. Having discovered the guiding *unit*, all other calculations become simple, and present singularly convincing results, notwithstanding that the basis of all these

Elder, 1872), i., pp. 316, 317. Dr. Hunter, like myself, has endeavoured to make his antiquarian researches instructive in their application to the defects of our own government in India, consequent upon the too frequent disregard of the superior local knowledge and hereditary instincts of the races we are appointed to rule over.

After enumerating the ascertained totals of the revenue of the province at various periods, the author goes on to say, "From time immemorial Orissa, like some other parts of India, has used a local currency of *cowries*. When the province passed into our hands in 1803, the public accounts were kept and the revenue was paid in these little shells." We "however stipulated that the landholders should henceforth pay their land-tax in silver, and fixed the rate of exchange at 5120 *cowries* to the rupee." (In 1804 the official exchange was 5120, and the practical rate of exchange from 6460 to 7680.) . . . "Had our first administrators contented themselves with taking payment in silver at the current rate of the *cowrie* exchange, the Orissa land-tax would now have been double what it is at present. But had they resolved to collect it at a grain valuation, according to Akbar's wise policy, it would now be more than double; for the prices of food have rather more than doubled since 1804. The system of paying the land-tax by a grain valuation appears to me to be the best means of giving stability to the Indian revenues."—Orissa, ii., p. 172. Dr. Hunter had not seen my notice of "The Revenues of the Mughal Empire" (Trübner, 1872) when this was written. I had equally appreciated the equity and suitableness of the system of estimate by agricultural produce, which had come down to Akbar's time from the earliest dawn of the civilization of the nation at large; but I had to condemn Akbar for introducing a new element in the shape of a settlement to be paid in silver, on the average of the prices of previous years—an assessment he hoped, in defiance of the proverbial uncertainty of Indian seasons, to make immutable; furnishing, in effect, the leading idea we so unwisely followed in that deplorable measure, Lord Cornwallis's "Permanent Settlement of Bengal."

¹ Prinsep's Essays, U.T., p. 7.

² Chronicles of Pathán Kings, pp. 3, 167, 223, 224 (note). Dr. A. Weber, in the Zeitschrift for 1861, p. 139, cites the parallel designation of *Ṣata Krishnala*, from the text of the Black Yajur Veda (circa 800 B.C.). The commentator uses the local name above quoted.

estimates rests upon so erratic a test as the growth of the seed of the Gunjá creeper (*Abrus precatorius*), under the varied incidents of soil and climate. Nevertheless this small compact grain, checked in early times by other products of nature, is seen to have had the remarkable faculty of securing a uniform average throughout the entire continent of India, which only came to be disturbed when monarchs, like Shír Sháh and Akbar, in their vanity, raised the weight of the coinage without any reference to the number of *ratis* inherited from Hindú sources as the *given* standard, officially recognized in the old, but altogether disregarded and left undefined in the reformed Muhammadan mintages.

I may as well take this opportunity of disposing of the other technical questions bearing upon the general subject; and, without recapitulating the investigations elsewhere given at large,¹ I may state generally, that I understand the *rati* to have been 1.75 grains, the 100-*rati* piece—reproduced in the ordinary Dehli *tankah*—175 grains. The Rájput *jital*, composed of mixed silver and copper, preserved in the early Dehli currencies of the Muslims, is $\frac{1}{8}$ in value of the 175-grain silver coin; but the number of *jitals* in any given composite piece was dependent upon the proportional amount of the silver added to the ruling copper basis. The *káni*, like the *jital*, is $\frac{1}{8}$ of the *tankah*; but the *káni* is found to be the practical as well as the theoretical divisor, applicable alike to land and other measures, preserving its more special identity in the southern peninsula. Both terms have now been found in conjunction on a single piece of Metropolitan fabric, where the *jital* is authoritatively declared to be of the value of *one káni*.² In more advanced days under the Patháns, immense quantities of pieces were coined to meet the current exchange answering to $\frac{2}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the *tankah*; and under Muhammad Tughlak, amid other useful breaks in the too-uniform descending scale of the small change, a new division was introduced, in the form

¹ Numismatic Chronicle (N.S.), iv., p. 40, *et seqq.* J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., pp. 150, 166, 168. Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehli, pp. 161, 252.

² Pathán Chronicles, coin No. 207, p. 252. See also pp. 218, 219.

of a $\frac{6}{16}$, or *six-kāni* piece, which subsequently became better known as the *Black tankah*.¹

It would appear that the normal or conventional rate of exchange of the precious metals mechanically accepted in India from the earliest times was as silver to gold 8:1; copper to silver 64:1. Of course these rates were constantly liable to fluctuation.² Indeed, we can trace the effect of the influx of the gold of the Dakhin, after its conquest, in the fall of that metal, evidenced by the obvious readjustment of the weights of the gold and silver coinage at the Imperial seat of Government.³ But the copper rate must have had a very extended lease of immutability, as this ratio of 64:1 was maintained from the most primitive ages up to the time of Sikandar Lodī (A.D. 1488–1517).

As regards the application of these data to the examples specially under review, it would seem that the Bengal silver coinage was, from the first, deficient in weight in reference to the corresponding issues of the Dehli mint; but the Dehli silver coins were avowedly designed to fall in with the concurrent gold pieces of identical weight, and of full standard in metal: whereas we must suppose that the Lakhnautī silver pieces, in introducing a new element, were graduated to exchange in even sums against the extant gold currency of Bengal and Orissa. Now the gold *mark* weighed, as we have seen, 43.75 grains, which, with gold as 1 to 8 of silver, would require 350 grains of the latter metal as its equiva-

¹ I was mistaken in my first impression that the Bengal *tankahs* themselves might have a claim to this obnoxious designation. J.R.A.S., II., p. 160.

² In Akbar's time, even, the progressive alteration in the value of gold, since so much accelerated, had only reached the proportion of 9.4:1. Chronicles, p. 424. J.R.A.S., II., p. 63.

³ Pathān Chronicles, p. 235. In my previous article in this *Journal*, I was led by Ibn Batutah's indiscriminate use of the terms "Dirhams and Dinars," in their local application in Bengal, to suppose that his definition of coin exchanges referred to the relative values of gold and silver, and that it in so far supported my estimate of 1:8 (J.R.A.S., II., p. 61, note 1). I now find that towards the close of Muhammad bin Tughlak's reign, the exchange had come for the moment to be 1:10 (Chronicles, p. 227), in lieu of the ordinary 1:8. The entire difficulty of the obscure passage in the *Journal* of the African Voyager has, however, been set at rest by the more comprehensive tables of values furnished by the Egyptian traveller Shaikh Mubārak *Anbatī* (Notices et Extraits, xiii., p. 51), which shows that the *dīnār* of silver (i.e. the *tankah*) was equal to 8 *dirhams* (*hasht-kāni*). See also Elliot's *Historians*, iii., pp. 577, 582.

lent, or *two* 175-grain *tankahs*, reconciling alike the *fours* of the Hindú ideal with the *fives* and *tens* of Muslim predilection; but as there is reason to believe that the local gold was not refined up to a high state of purity, this defective standard may readily account for the corresponding reduction of a few grains on the full total of the silver pieces, equally as it may have justified the acceptance of a lower *touch* in the silver itself.

Later in point of time, under Bahádur Sháh (710-730 A.H.), the progressive fall in the value of gold is more definitively marked by the diminution of the weight of the silver piece to the uniform standard of 166 grains,¹ in contrast to the 169 grains which are preserved in some of the primary issues here described (Nos. 6, 7).

The central figure in the historical tableau, illustrated by these introductory coinages, stands prominently to the front in the person of Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz—an outline of whose career I now append.

Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz bin Al Husain.

Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz *Khiljí*, a native of Ghór in Afghánistán, on joining Muhammad Bakhtyár Khiljí in Bengal, was entrusted by that commander with the charge of the district of Gangautri.² He was afterwards promoted to the important military division of Deokót,³ by Kutb-ud-dín

¹ J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 157. The new and unworn pieces in the Kooch Bihár *trouvaille* averaged 166 grains; and the earlier issues, of 188, 189 grains, found with them, had generally been reduced in weight to correspond with the later official standard.

² Variants کنکوری—کنکوری Text, p. 158, and MSS. I have preserved Stewart's version of the name in my text, but the site of *Gangautri* has not been identified. There is a town called Gurguri (24° 23', 86° 55') on the line of country between Bihár and Nagore, but it is not known to have been a place of any mark. There is also a celebrated fort of high antiquity on the same line of communication, named Ghidúr (24° 53', 86° 55'), which may have served as an outpost of the Bihár head-quarters.

³ Deokót (lat. 25° 18', long. 88° 31'), the chief place in Gangarámpúr (district of Dinájpúr), is now known by the name of Damdamah. Hamilton states that "it received its present appellation from its having been a military station during the early Muhammadan Government" (p. 50). Muhammad Bakhtyár,

Aibeg's representative commissioner in the South-east, and with his aid eventually defeated Muhammad Shírán and the other confederated Khiljí chiefs.¹ On the definite appointment of 'Alí Mardán Khiljí to the kingdom of Bengal by Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg, he paid his devoirs to the new Viceroy by meeting him on the Kúsi, and accom-

after his first success against the King of Bengal at Nuddea (lat. 23° 25', long. 88° 22'), contented himself with destroying that town, and withdrew his troops nearer to his base of communications, to a position about 90 miles to the northward, somewhere about the site of the future Lakhnauti, Deokót again being some 50 miles N.N.E.

Minháj-us-Siráj, in describing Lakhnauti, at a later date (641 A.H.), mentions that habitations were located on both sides of the Ganges, but that the city of Lakhnauti proper was situated on the western bank. The author adds, that an embankment or causeway (پل) extended for a distance of ten days' journey

through the capital from Deokót to Nagore in Bírghúm, (lat. 23° 56', long. 87° 22').—Stewart's Bengal, p. 57. Persian text of Tabakát-i-Násiri, pp. 161, 162, 243. Afín-i-Akbari, ii. p. 14. Elliot's Historians, ii., p. 318; iii. p. 112. Rennell's Map, p. 55. Wilford, As. Res. ix., p. 72.

The subjoined curious notice of the distribution of the boundaries of the kingdom of Bengal shortly before the Muhammadan conquest has been preserved in Hamilton's Hindustán. The compiler does not give his specific authority.

"During the Adisur dynasty the following are said to have been the ancient geographical divisions of Bengal. Gour was the capital, forming the centre division, and surrounded by five great provinces.

"1. Barendra, bounded by the Mahananda on the west; by the Padma, or great branch of the Ganges, on the south; by the Kortoya on the east; and by adjacent governments on the north.

"2. Bangga, or the territory east from the Kortoya towards the Brahmaputra. The capital of Bengal, both before and afterwards, having long been near Dacca in the province of Bangga, the name is said to have been communicated to the whole.

"3. Bagri, or the Delta, called also Dwípa, or the island, bounded on the one side by the Padma, or great branch of the Ganges; on another by the sea; and on the third by the Hooghly river, or Bhagirathi.

"4. Rarhi, bounded by the Hooghly and the Padma on the north and east, and by adjacent kingdoms on the west and south.

"5. Maithila, bounded by the Mahananda and Gour on the east; the Hooghly or Bhagirathi on the south; and by adjacent countries on the north and west."

"Bollal sen, the successor of Adisur, is said to have resided partly at Gour, but chiefly at Bikrampur, eight miles south-east of Dacca." Bollal sen was succeeded by Lakshmana sen, who was defeated by Muhammad Bakhtiyár. The author continues, "It is possible that the Rája only retired to his remote capital, Bikrampur, near Dacca, where there still resides a family possessing considerable estates, who pretend to be his descendants. We also find that Soomergong, in the vicinity of Bikrampur, continued to be a place of refuge to the Gour malcontents, and was not finally subjugated until long after the overthrow of Rája Lakshmana."—Hamilton's Hindustán (1820), i., p. 114.

¹ وچون او [محمد شیران] مهتر امرای خلیج بون همکنان اورا

خدمت می کردند و هر امیر بر سر اقطاع خود می بود.—Text, p. 158.

Stewart's Bengal, p. 51. Elliot's Historians, ii., p. 315.

panied him to Deokót, where he was formally installed in power. When Kutb-ud-dín died at Láhor, in 607 A.H., 'Alí Mardán assumed independence under the title of 'Alá-ud-dín; but after a reign of about two years, he was slain by the Khiljí nobles, and Hisám-ud-dín was thereupon elected in his stead (608 A.H.). History is silent as to when he first arrogated kingly state, and merely records Shams-ud-dín Altamsh's expedition against him in 622 A.H., with the object of enforcing his allegiance to the Imperial crown, when, after some doubtful successes, peace was established on the surrender of 38 elephants, the payment of 80 *laks* [of *tankahs* ?], and the distinct recognition of Altamsh's suzerainty in the public prayers, with the superscription of his titles on the local coinage. The Emperor, on his return towards Dehli, made over the government of Bihár to 'Alá-ud-dín Jáni, who, however, was not long left undisturbed, for the Southern potentate speedily re-annexed that section of his former dominions,—an aggression which was met, in A.H. 624, by the advance of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the eldest son of Altamsh, in force, who, in the absence of Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz on distant enterprises, succeeded in obtaining possession of the new seat of Government. In the subsequent engagement the Bengal army was defeated, and Ghíás-ud-dín killed, after a reign estimated by the local annalist at 12 years.¹

This is all the information we are able to gather from the incidental biographical notices furnished by our sole authority, Minháj-us-Siráj, that most intelligent employé of the Rulers of Dehli, and welcomed visitor at the Court of Lakhnautí in A.H. 641, where he saw and appreciated the material undertakings of this self-made king, whose memory he lauds enthusiastically. A tribute Altamsh had virtually anticipated, when he was at last permitted to behold the glories of his adversaries' capital, in 627 A.H., and then conceded the tardy justice of decreeing, that in virtue of his good works, Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz should, in his grave, be endowed with

¹ Allowing 'Alí Mardán from 607-8 to 609-10, this leaves an interval up to 612, during which Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz was content to remain head of the Khiljí oligarchy and local governor.

that coveted title of *Sultán*, which had been denied to him while living.¹

We have now to examine how far the recently discovered coins will fill in this defective historical outline.

COINS STRUCK IN THE NAME OF ALTAMSH, in *Bengal*.

No. 1. Silver. Size, 7½. Weight, 168 grs. *Unique*, in this date.
Pl. i. fig. 1. A.H. 614.

OBVERSE.

السلطان المعظم
شمس الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر الشمش القطبي
ناصر امير المؤمنين

REVERSE.

Device.

Horseman at the charge.

Margin—

لا اله الا الله * * * محمد رسول الله
بتاريخ سنه اربع عشر وستماية

The date of A.H. 614, this earliest numismatic record contributed by the Bengal Mints, is further remarkable as the epoch of Altamsh's final assertion of supremacy on the defeat of his last powerful competitor in Hindústán, Násir-ud-dín *Kubáchah*, after he had already disposed of his other prominent rival, Táj-ud-dín Ilduz, in 612 A.H. The issue of these provincial coins, at this conjuncture, would seem to attest the first voluntary recognition of Altamsh by Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz, who was at this time in undisturbed possession of Bengal and its dependencies. The adoption of the Cavalier device on the obverse may have been suggested by the conventional acceptance of that design on the money of the

¹ *Tabakát-i-Násirí*, Text, p. 163. Dr. Blochmann has an interesting paper in the September number of the *Indian Antiquary* (p. 259), on Muhammadan Titles. Among other questions discussed is the derivation and early application of the title of Sultán. The author remarks that "the first clear case of *Sultán* having been used as a title belongs to the time of Rukn-ud-daulah, deputy over Fárs, under the Khalifah Al Mu't'billah," A.H. 338, or A.D. 949. MM. Oppert et Ménant were under the impression that they had discovered the title so early as the time of Sargon, who, in his grand inscription at Khorsabad, is said to speak of Subaco as "*Siltan*, or Sultán d'Egypte."—*Journal Asiatique*, 1863, p. 9, and text, p. 3. Commentary, 1864, p. 10. Some doubt has, however, since been thrown upon this identification, as the designation reads optionally, if not preferably תרתן—Schröder, *Cuneiform and Old Testament Studies* (1872), p. 167.

native princes of the North-west, whose hereditary types were copied by Muhammad bin Sâm, and retained for a long period by Altamsh himself. In the new mintage, however, the Rájput horseman with his spear is superseded by the Túrki Cavalier with the historical mace,¹ and the general outline of the coarse Northern steed may perchance have been heightened to record a triumph, or to carry a menace to the subjected Bengálís,² who had left their king to escape ignominiously, and virtually surrendered their capital to the eighteen troopers of Muhammad Bakhtyár's advance guard.

Among other peculiarities of these coins is the tenor of their legends, which differ from the ordinarily adopted Imperial intitulations of the Sultán, who is here designated as القطبي, the slave or freedman of Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg,—a term which may have concealed a latent taunt to one who was now supreme in the chance virtue of his arms, or may otherwise indicate the independent Khiljí method of discriminating the followers of Kutb-ud-dín as opposed to the Mu'izzi faction of the nobles of Hindústán, who had already tried conclusions with each other, to the disadvantage of the latter.

¹ Mahmúd of Ghazni's favourite weapon. Tradition affirms that it was preserved in all honour by the guardians of his tomb at Ghazni.—Atkinson, *Expedition into Afghánistán*, p. 222. So much credence was attached to this ancient legend, that we find Lord Ellenborough in 1842 instructing his generals, in sober earnestness, to "bring away from the tomb of Mahmúd of Ghazni his club which hangs over it." Muhammad Bakhtyár himself had also won glory by the use of his mace in his gladiatorial encounter, single-handed, with an elephant, who was compelled to retreat before the first blow of his powerful arm.

² The name of *Asvapatis*, "Lords of Horses," was subsequently applied specifically in Orissa to the Muhammadan conquerors. Mr. Hunter remarks, "The Telugu Palm Leaf MSS. state that between (Saka 895) A.D. 972 and A.D. 1563 three great powers successively arose. During this period the *Gajapatis*, 'Lords of Elephants,' ruled in Orissa and the north of Madras; the *Narapatis*, 'Lords of Men,' held the country to the southward. The Lords of Horses were the Musalmáns, who, with their all-devouring Pathán cavalry, overthrew the two former."—Orissa, ii., p. 8. Stirling, *Asiatic Researches*, xv., p. 254. Aín-i-Akbari, Gladwin's translation, i., p. 319. Abú Fazl, in describing the game of cards affected by his royal master, speaks of "*Ashwooput*, the king of the horses. He is painted on horseback, like the king of Dehli, with the Chutter, the Alum, and other ensigns of royalty; and *Gajput*, the king of the elephants, is mounted on an elephant like the king of Orissa."

No. 2. Gold. Weight, 70·6 grs. *Unique. Gaur, A.H. 616.*¹



OBSERVE.

السلطان المعظم

شمس الدنيا والدين

ابو المظفر السمش

القطب برهان

امير المومنين²

REVERSE.

Horseman at the charge.

ضرب نكور—In the field

Margin—

لا * * * رسول الله بتاريخ سنة

ست عشر وستمائة

This unique gold coin of the period, put forth under Muslim auspices, is of more than usual value in confirming the locality of the Mint of its counterparts in silver, which are deficient in any geographical record; indeed, none of the Bengal coins, which form the bulk of the *trouvaille* to which the present notice is devoted, bear any indication of the site on which they were struck. Found, however, in company with so many clearly local pieces, there would have been little hesitation in assigning them to the southern division of the new Muhammadan empire; but the distinct announcement of the place of issue of the gold piece is of importance not only in fixing definitively the then head-quarters, but in presenting us with the name of *Gaur*,³ regarding the use of

¹ Reproduced from the original coin, in the collection of Col. Guthrie, already published in the *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, p. 78.

² Kilij Arslán, the Seljûk of Anatolia (A.H. 656), uses this title of *برهان امير* (Fræhn, p. 156). The three sons of Kai Khusrú (A.H. 647) employ the term in the plural *براهين*.

³ I need have no hesitation in admitting that on the first examination of this piece, as an isolated specimen of a hitherto unknown mintage, I was disposed,

which, at this epoch, there was some controversy.¹ Advantage has been taken in this, to the native comprehension, more elaborately-finished piece, to insert in the vacant spaces on the field, above and below the main device, the words, ضرب بگور, "Struck at Gaur," and although the requisite dot below the گور has escaped definition, there need be little doubt as to the purport of the entry, which it was not thought necessary to reproduce on the less-esteemed silver money, whose status with the Mint officials, as equally with the public at large, ranged at a lower level.

The date of 616 A.H. on this coin, supported and in a measure explained as it is by the marginal legend on No. 3, proves that the professed allegiance of the local ruler of Bengal to the head of the followers of Islám at Dehli, was no momentary demonstration, but a sustained confession of vassalage extending over one complete year, and portions of the previous and succeeding twelve months.

The topographical record on No. 2 would further seem to show that Hisám-ud-dín had not as yet transferred his capital to the new site of *Lakhnauti*, to the west of the river, whose designation first appears in a definite form on the coins of the Empress Rizíah, in A.H. 635.²

in the absence of any dot either above or below the line of writing, to adopt the alternative reading of گور instead of بگور, while confessing a preference for the latter transcription, on account of the need of the preposition ب (Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 79); but, at the time, I was unprepared to expect that Altamsh's sway had extended to the lower provinces, which were avowedly in independent charge of the Khilji successors of Muhammad Bakhtiyár. This difficulty is now curiously explained by the concurrent silver pieces, and the supposition that the local chieftain found it expedient to profess allegiance, nominal or real, to the preponderating influence of the master of Hindústán. In like manner, the recently discovered silver coins have supplied a clue to the more satisfactory decipherment of the marginal legend, and the explanation of other minor imperfections in the definition of the exotic characters of the gold coin, which it is useless to follow in detail.

¹ J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 187. Cf. also Albrúnt; Reinaud, Mémoire sur l'Inde, p. 298, quoted in J.R.A.S. (N.S.) I., p. 471. As. Res. ix., pp. 72, 74; xvii. 617. Wilson's Glossary, *sub voce*, etc. Rennell, Map of Hindústán, p. 55. Stewart's Bengal, pp. 44, 57.

² Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 107. J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 187, coin No. 14 *infra*.

No. 3. Silver. Size, 7. Weight, 168 grs. *Very rare.*

Pl. i. fig. 2. A.H. 616.

OBVERSE.

السلطان المعظم
شمس الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر الممش
القطبي برهان
* *

REVERSE.

Horseman at charge.

Margin—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
بتاريخ سنة ست عشر وستماية

No. 3a. Variety. Weight, 162 grs. Pl. i. fig. 3. Date illegible. The Persian legend on the obverse is given in very imperfectly defined characters, and offers the peculiarity of the insertion of the Hindi letters **सा**, for *Shdh*, above the name of the king, thereby indicating that both die-engravers and the local public were naturally better versed in the old alphabet than in the newly-imported letters of the conquerors.

COINS OF GHÍÁS-UD-DÍN 'AWZ.

No. 4. Silver. Size, 7½. Weight, 161 grs. (full weight.)

Pl. i. fig. 4. A.H. 616. (7 specimens.)

OBVERSE.

السلطان
المعظم غياث الدين
والدين ابو الفتح
عوض بن الحسين ناصر
امير المومنين

REVERSE.

لا اله الا
الله محمد
رسول الله
Margin—ضرب هذه السكه في
شهور سنة ست عشر وستماية

Coin No. 4 teaches us that in the same year 616 A.H., in the early part of which Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz had confessed allegiance to Altamsh, he seemingly grew weary of such

pretences, and openly declared himself *Sultán* in his own right, assuming the regal title of *Ghiás-ud-dín*, and the quasi-hierarchical function implied in the designation of *Náṣir Amir Al Muaminin*, "Defender of the Commander of the Faithful." Whether this overt assertion of independence was suggested by his own growing power, or was due to the imagined weakness of the suzerain, is not clear; but there can be no question as to his success in the extension and consolidation of his dominions, or to his vigorous administration of a country, fertile in the extreme, and endowed with such singular commercial advantages of sea and river intercourse.

At this particular juncture Altamsh does not seem to have been pressed by any important home disturbances, but there were dark clouds on the N.W. frontier. The all-powerful 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad *Khárizmí*, whose outposts extended over so large a portion of Asia, had been coining money in the inconvenient proximity of *Ghazni* throughout the years 613, 614-616 A.H.;¹ and no one could foretell when he might follow the ordinary precedent, and advance into Hindústán. As fate determined, however, it was left to his son *Jalál-ud-dín* to swim the Indus, at the risk of his life, as a fugitive before the hosts of Changíz Khán, in 618 A.H.

The mention of *Changíz Khán* suggests to me the desirability of repeating a correction, I have already recorded elsewhere, of a singular delusion, shared alike by native copyists and English commentators, regarding one of the supposed incidents of the sufficiently diversified career of this scourge of the world, to the effect that his unkempt savages had penetrated down to the impossible limit of the lower Ganges. The whole series of mistakes, Asiatic or European, may now be traced back to a simple clerical error in the transcription from a chance leading copy of the ordinarily rare work of Minháj-us-Siráj—where the name of *Changíz Khán* جنگیز خان has been substituted for the more obvious designation of the ancient town of *Jájnagar* جاجنगर.

¹ J.R.A.S. IX., p. 381; XVII., p. 202; Chronicles of Pathán Kings, p. 86.

Modern authors, examining a single passage, might well have felt reserve in reconstructing at hazard a primary version; but the editors of the Calcutta official printed text have gone so far towards perpetuating the enigma they were unable to unravel, as to add to the difficulties of solution by making Changíz Khán fight (so far on his way to Lakhnautí) the memorable battle of Perwán [$35^{\circ} 9' N.$, $69^{\circ} 16' E.$] on the conveniently converging site of Budaon (p. 348), which was situated on one of the favourite main lines of transit to the south, east of the Ganges. This conglomeration is, however, the less excusable, as Stewart, in his *History of Bengal*, had already pointed out Ferishtah's palpable mistake to the same effect; and the editors themselves unconsciously admit the preferable variant of جاجنكر inserted in the foot-note, p. 199. Dr. Hunter, I see, in his new work on Orissa (ii. 4), incautiously follows Stewart's first impressions, in the notion that the "vanity" of Muhammadan historians had intentionally "converted the attack of the humble Orissians into an invasion of Tartars" (Stewart, p. 62).¹ I myself prefer the

¹ Mr. Stirling, in his most exhaustive memoir on Orissa, published in the *Asiatic Researches* in 1822, observes:—"Major Stewart, in his *History of Bengal*, places an invasion of Orissa by the Mussalmans of Bengal during this reign, that is A.D. 1243. The *Chronicles of the country* contain no mention of such an event. I have not Major Stewart's authorities at hand to refer to, but strongly suspect that he has been led into an error by mistaking some word resembling Jajipur, for Jajipur in Orissa. He expresses himself thus: 'In the year 614 (A.D. 1243), the Raja of Jagepur (Orissa) having given some cause of offence, Toghan Khan marched to Ketasun, on the frontier of Jagepur, where he found the army of the Raja had thrown up intrenchments to oppose him.' . . . Now, in the first place, Jajipur was never a separate principality, as here described; and there is no such place in Orissa as Ketasun. Ferishtah is altogether silent on this subject in his history of Bengal, but in his general history he ascribes the siege of Gour, in the very year in question, to a party of Mogul Tartars who had invaded Bengal by way of Chitta, Thibet, etc. Dow's mistake of a similar nature is scarcely worth noticing. He makes Sultan Balin pursue the rebel Toghrul into Jainagar (A.D. 1279), which he calls *Orissa*, whereas it is evident from the mention of Sunargaon as lying on the road, that Jainagar is some place beyond the Ganges."—Stirling, *As. Res.* xv., p. 274.

It seems to have escaped Mr. Stirling's notice, that Stewart had already corrected his own error in speaking of "Jagepore" as "Orissa," pp. 61 and 65, by placing that town in its proper position in "Tipperah," in a later passage (p. 70); and he further improved upon his advanced knowledge by saying in a note, at p. 72, "Jagenagar is said to have been a town in Orissa, near Cuttack; but this passage proves it to have been situated on the eastern side of the Burhampooter. The Jagenagar mentioned by Ferishtah should have been written Jagepore." [P] Stewart, *Hist. Bengal*, p. 72. Dow, i., p. 202 (4to. edit.). Briggs, i., p. 260. See also *Chronicles of Pathán Kings*, p. 121.

more obvious and direct explanation above given, which perhaps reflects more upon our defective criticism than upon Muslim vanity.¹

No. 5. Silver. Size, 8½. Weight, 165 grs. A.H. 617.
(2 specimens.)

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان	لا اله الا
المعظم غياث الدنيا	الله محمد رسول
والدين ابو الفتح عوض	الله
بن الحسين ناصر امير	Margin—ضرب هذه السكه في—
المومنين	التاريخ السابع عشر وستمائة

No. 6. Silver. Size, 8. Weight, 169. (Coarse badly formed legends). A.H. 617. (2 specimens.)

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان الاعظم	لا اله الا الله
غياث الدنيا والدين	محمد رسول الله
ابو الفتح عوض بن الحسين	الناصر لدين الله
ناصر امير المومنين و	امير المومنين
ولي عهده علا الحق	Margin—ضرب هذه السكه في—
والدين	شهور سنة اصبغ عشرة وستمائة

¹ Cf. Elphinstone (new edit. by Professor Cowell), p. 377. Elliot, Muhammadan Historians, ii., pp. 264, 344. Dr. Lee's Ibn Batutah, Oriental Tr. Fund, p. 97. Ferishtah, Bombay Persian Text, i., p. 122. Badaoni, Calcutta Persian Text, p. 88. Tabakât-i-Nâsirî, Calcutta Persian Text, pp. 167, 163, 199, 243, 245.

No. 6a. Variety. One example gives the altered marginal reading of

ضرب هذه السكه في ربيع الاخر سنة سبع * * ستماية

Al Násir-le-dín Illah was invested in the Khiláfat in A.H. 575, and died on the 1st Shawwál, A.H. 622 (5th October, 1225 A.D.). Bar Hebræus, *Abulfaraj*, pp. 269-301. Ibn Asír, p. 285, fixes his death at the end of Ramazán. Price, *Muhammadan History*, ii., p. 210.

The tenor of the legends of the consecutive issues of A.H. 617 disclose an increasing confidence in his own power on the part of *Ghiás-ud-dín 'Awz*, in the addition made to his previous titles, and in the assumption of the superlative *Al 'Azam*, "the highest," as the prefix to the *Al Sultán* in place of the heretofore modest adjective of *Al Mu'azzam*, "the great."¹ Here, for the first time in this series, we meet with the official or regnant designation of the Khalif of Baghdád, who has hitherto been referred to by the mere generic title of "Commander of the Faithful."

It would appear from this innovation, as if *Ghiás-ud-dín* had already, indirectly, put himself in communication with the Pontifical Court at Baghdád, with a view to obtaining recognition as a sovereign prince in the Muslim hierarchy,—a further indication of which may possibly be detected in the exceptional insertion of the *month* in addition to the ordinary *year* of issue on the margin of No. 6a; a specification which will be found more fully developed in the succeeding mint-ages, where it admits of an explanation which is not so obvious or conclusive in this instance.

¹ Altamsh himself seems to have been indifferent to this distinction, but its importance is shown in the early coinages of Muhammad bin Sâm, who invariably reserves the superlative prefix for his reigning brother, while he limits his own claims to the virtually comparative *المعظم*. And further to mark these gradations, he prominently adopts the higher title after his brother's death. *Chronicles of Pathán Kings*, pp. 12, 13, 14. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xx., figs. 29, 35.

No. 7. Silver. Size, 9. Weight, 169 grs. Pl. i. fig. 5.¹ Dated 20th of Rab'ul ákhir, A.H. 620. (7 specimens.)

OBVERSE.

غياث الدنيا
والدين ابو الفتح عو
ض بن الحسين قسيم امير المؤمنين
سلطان السلاطين في الدنيا
والدين ابو العظفر على يده
امير المؤمنين
خلد الله ملكه

REVERSE.

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
الناصر لدين الله
امير المؤمنين
في التاريخ العشرين—Margin
من شهر ربيع الآخر سنة
عشرين وستماية

No. 7a. Variety. Weight, 165 grs. Coin of the same date and similar character, which transfers the complete name of عوض into the third line; the dubious prefix to the second الدين الدنيا reads more as معزز, while the suggested يده, above given, appears as يدنو.

If the preceding coins had left any doubt as to Ghíás-ud-dín's designs in regard to the assumption of sovereign power, the tenor of the legends on Nos. 7 and 7a, would conclusively set that question at rest. Here, not content with the recently-arrogated title of السلطان الاعظم, we find him calling himself "*Sultán of Sultáns*," by direct appointment of the Khalif,² associated with which is the entry

¹ See also Marsden, No. DOCLVII. p. 564. There are two coins of this type in his collection in the British Museum. Marsden remarks, "The date of this coin, the earliest of those belonging to the princes who governed Bengal in the name of the Kings of Dehli, but who took all opportunities of rendering themselves independent, is expressed distinctly in words. . . . The titles and patronymics of the Sultán by whom it was struck are for the most part illegible; not so much from obliteration, as from the original imperfect formation of the characters."

² The term علي يدي is of frequent occurrence on the early Muslim coinages, and is usually associated with the name of the officer—whatever his condition—responsible for the mint issues, as علي يدي أحمد which is translated by Fræhn as "*manibus*" (i.e. curá et operá), *Ahmadis* or "*curante*,"—a definition accepted in later days on the Continent as "*par les mains de, par les soins de,*" etc.

of a specific date, with the still more unusual definition of the day of the month, which is preserved constant and unvaried throughout the entire issue. More remarkable still is the abnormal departure from the conventional form of coin legends, in the omission of the preliminary "*Al Sultán*," and the abrupt introduction of the regnal title of the once probational *Hisám-ud-dín*, under his more ambitious designation of *Ghiás-ud-dín*. In short, the entire drift of the altered superscription points to an intentional reproduction of some formal phraseology, such as would be eminently consistent with an official transcript of the *revered* precept emanating from Baghdád.

I should infer from these coincidences that a formal diploma had by this time been conceded by the Supreme Pontiff, admitting the newly-erected kingdom of Bengal within the boundaries of Islám, and confirming the reigning monarch in possession, with added titles and dignities. The date so prominently repeated may either be that upon which the patent was originally *sealed*, or more probably it points to the auspicious moment of the reception of the ambassadors, who conveyed the formal document and paraphernalia of investment, at the Court of Lakhnautí. This assignment in no way disturbs my previous attribution of the inaugural piece of Altamsh,¹ marking his attainment of the like honours in A.H. 626. The very concession to the Bengal potentate possibly led his once suzerain to seek a parallel sanctification of his own rights, which he had previously been content to hold by the sword: and the difficulty of communication with Baghdád over alien kingdoms and disturbed frontiers would account for a delay of the emissaries on the one part and the other, which would not affect the open ocean passage between the mouths of the Ganges and the sea port of Bussorah.

In the present instance it would seem to imply a more or less direct intervention by the Commander of the Faithful himself in favour of his nominee.

¹ Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 154, No. 1, *note*; Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 46. Of course this exceptional issue will now have to cede priority of date both to the Bengal coins of A.H. 614, etc., and likewise to the northern piece of Altamsh, No. 8, which must be taken as anterior to No. 10.

COIN OF ALTAMSH.

No. 8. Silver. Size $8\frac{1}{2}$. Weight, 168 grs. Square Kufic characters, which seem to belong to Lāhor or some northern Mint.¹ Pl. i. fig. 6. A.H. 62*?

OBVERSE.

السلطان
المعظم شمس
الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر ايلشمش
السلطان يمين خليفه
الله ناصر امير
المومنين

REVERSE.

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول
الله الناصر لدين
الله امير المو
منين
هذا الصرب ؟
عشراين وسته مايه

Margin—

BENGAL COINS OF ALTAMSH SUBSEQUENT TO THE RE-ASSERTION OF HIS IMPERIAL SWAY.

No. 9. Silver. Size 8. Weight, 168 grs. Bengal type of Coin. A.H. 622.

OBVERSE.

السلطان
المعظم شمس الدنيا و
الدين ابا المظفر ايلشمش
السلطان يمين خليفه
الله ناصر امير المو
منين

REVERSE.

As in Nos. 6 and 7,—Coins of Ghíás-ud-dín, with the name of the Khalif *Al Násir-le-dín Illah*.

Margin—

هذا الصرب ؟ في شهر سنه اثني
عشرين وستمايه

¹ Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 15. Pl. i. figs. 4-8.

² This word as designating the coin is unusual; but we have the term

Altamsh does not seem to have found it convenient to proceed against his contumacious vassal, who was now ready to meet him on almost equal terms, till A.H. 622, when the coinage immediately attests one part of the compact under which peace was secured, in the exclusive use of the name of the Emperor of Hindústán on the money of Bengal.¹ That the issue, represented by No. 9, proceeded from the local Mints, is evident alike from the style and fabric of the pieces, their defective metal, and the uncouth forms of the letters of the legends.

No. 10. Silver. Size 8. Weight 168 grs. (2 specimens.)

Plate i. fig. 7. A.H. 624.

OBVERSE.

السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ

شَمْسُ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ

أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ أَيْلَسُ شَمْسُ

السُّلْطَانُ نَاصِرُ أَمِيرِ

الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

REVERSE.

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

الظَّاهِرُ بِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ

أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

ضرب هذ * * * شهر—Margin

سنه أربع وعشرين وستة مائه

دارالضرب for the Mint, and the ضرب هذ etc., as the ordinary prefix to the الفضة or السكه of the Pathán monarchs. The letters on the Bengal coins look more like القرب, which, however, does not seem to make sense. Fræhn long ago suggested that the word ضرب ought to be received as a substantive, especially in those cases where the preposition ب did not follow it, in the given sentence, as a prefix to the name of the Mint city.

¹ غياث الدين عوض خلجي رقبه خدمت در رقبه انقياد آورد و سي [سي و هشت 162 p.] زنجير پيل و هشتاد لك مال بداد و خطبه و سكه بنام مبارك شمسى كرد.—Calcutta text, pp. 163, 171.

Al Zāhir beamrillah, the Khalif whose name is inscribed on this coin, succeeded his father on the 2nd of Shawwāl, A.H. 622, and died on the 14th Rajab, A.H. 623 (July 11, 1226 A.D.). Bar Hebræus, *Abulfaraj*, p. 302.

No. 11. Silver. Size 7. Weight 167 grs. *Uniquis*. Pl. i, fig. 8. A.H. 624.

Square area, within double lines, following the pattern of some of the examples of Muhammad Ghori's coins.

السلطان الاعظم

شمس الدنيا والدين

ابو المظفر ايلشاه

السلطان ناصر

The words أمير المو منين are inserted in the interstices between the square area and the circular marginal line, as in the Dehli coins of Bahrām Shāh.¹

REVERSE.

Legend in the area as in the last coin, with the name of the Khalif *Al Zāhir*.

ضرب * * سنة اربع—Margin

وعشرين وسة مائه

It might be supposed to be an open question as to whether Ghíás-ud-dín 'Aiz or Nāsir-ud-dín Mahmūd—the eldest son of Altamsh and his viceroy in Bengal—presided over the Mints which put forth the coins classed under Nos. 10 and 11. As regards the latter, at present *unique* piece, there can be little doubt, from its assimilation to the ordinary Dehli models, that it formed a portion of the revised and improved coinage of the south after Mahmūd's defeat of Ghíás-ud-dín in 624 A.H. In like manner, the introduction of the term الاعظم on No. 10, as a prefix to the title of

¹ Chronicles of the Pathān Kings, p. 118.

Sultán Altamsh, points to a feeling of filial reverence, which is altogether wanting even in *Ghíás-ud-dín's* repentant manifesto in the legend of No. 9. *Mahmúd's* appointment to the Government of Oudh dates from A.H. 623,¹ and the tenor of one of the narratives of *Minháj-us-Siráj* would imply that he proceeded southwards with but little delay; so that all coins bearing the date of 624, with the name of *Altamsh*, might preferentially be assigned to his interposition, more especially as *Ghíás-ud-dín* at and prior to this period had placed himself in a renewed attitude of insurrection.

Coin of Nāṣir-ud-dín Mahmūd Sháh, as Viceroy in Bengal.

The administration of the Bengal Mints under the official auspices of *Nāṣir-ud-dín Mahmūd*, as developed in the issues Nos. 10, 11, leads up to and confirms with more full effect an identification I have hitherto been obliged to advocate in a less confident tone—that is, the attribution of the piece, reproduced in the woodcut below, under No. 12, to the eldest son of *Altamsh*, at some period towards the close of his brief career.³ With these newly-discovered evidences of his overt intervention in the local currencies, the transition to a subdued and possibly paternally-sanctioned numismatic proclamation, in his own name, would be easy, more especially if that advance was made simultaneously with the effusive reception at Dehli of the reigning *Khalif's* earliest recognition of *Altamsh's* supremacy, coupled with the desirability of making this Imperial triumph manifest in those southern latitudes, where other dynastic names had already claimed a prior sanctification.³

¹ Persian text, 180.

² Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 182. Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 81.

³ *Minháj-us-Siráj*, after completing his account of *Nāṣir-ud-dín's* conquest of *Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz*, and the transmission of the spoils to the *Sultán* at Dehli, continues—

وچون تشریفات دارالخلافه بحضرت سلطان شمس الدین طاب ثراه

Such an authorized augmentation of the Prince's state is rendered the more probable, as Altamsh in a measure shared with his favourite son the honours and dignities conferred by the Khalif, and simultaneously extended to him the right to use an umbrella with the tint of Imperial red.¹ Nāṣir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, the contemporary biographer remarks, was from that time looked upon as the recognized successor to the throne of Hindūstān. Equally, after Mahmūd's premature death, his father still so held him in honour that his body was brought to Dehli, and enshrined under one of the choicest domes that Eastern Saracenic art could achieve, which to this day, amid its now broken marbles, stands as a monument of the virtues of this prince, and preserves in its decaying walls the remains of² the *first* royal tomb of the

رسید از انجمله یکت تشریف گرانمایه با چتر لعل بظرف لکهنوتی
فرستاد ملک ناصرالدین علیه الرحمة بدان چتر و تشریف و اکرام
مشرف گشت و همکنان را از ملوک و اکابر مملکت هند نظر بدو بود
که وارث مملکت شمسی او باشد فاما * * بعد از یکسال و نیم * *
برحمت حق تعالی پیوست.—p. ۱۸۱.

(See also Elliot's *Historians*, ii., pp. 326, 329.)

The Khalif's emissary arrived at Dehli on the 22nd of Rabī'ul awwal, (3rd month of) A.H. 626, p. ۱۷۹, and news of the death of Nāṣir-ud-dīn Mahmūd reached the capital in the 5th month of the same year, p. 174.

¹ The founder of the Ghaznavi dynasty, the Great Sabuktigīn, assumed regal state under the shadow of a *red* umbrella. Altamsh's ensigns are described as *black* for the right wing *سیاه* *رایات* *میمنه* *سیاه* and *red* for the left wing *رایات* *میسره* *لعل* p. ۱۷۴. Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad bin Sām's standards bore the same colours, but the discrimination is made that the *black* pertained to the Ghōris, and the *red* to the Tūrks, p. ۱۲۷. Ghīās-ud-dīn Muhammad bin Sām used *black* and *red* for the two wings respectively, p. 83.

² INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF SULTÁN GHĀZĪ [NĀṢIR-UD-DĪN MAHMŪD] AT DEHLI, DATED A.H. 629.

امر یبنا هذه القبة المباركة السلطان المعظم شاهنشاه الاعظم

slave kings erected near the capital,¹ on the shattered entrance arch of which we can still trace the devotional prayer of the father for the soul of his son, whose mundane glories he briefly epitomizes as "King of Kings of the East," implying, in the conventional terms of the day, all India beyond the Gogra.

And still further to secure a contemporary memento of his lost heir, Altamsh conferred the same name and title upon a younger son, who, in his turn, was destined to occupy the throne of Dehli for twenty years, and the name of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd was perpetuated anew in the next generation, under another dynasty, as the designation of Balban's heir, who carried it back to Bengal, where he was permitted to found a new family of southern kings,² who for half a century succeeded in maintaining a fitful sovereignty, seldom disturbed by the more powerful Sultáns of Hindústán.

مالك رقاب الامم ظل الله في العالم ذو الامان لاهل الذمه سلطان
السلطين شمس الدنيا والدين المخصوص بعنايت رب العالمين ابي
المظفر اللمش السلطان ناصر امير المؤمنين خلد الله ملكه لروضة
ملك الملوك الشرق ابي الفتح محمود تعمده الله بغفرانه واسكنه
كنف نعيم جنانه في شهور سنة تسع وعشرين وستمائة

This Tomb, which is known as the Makbarat of Sultán Gházi, stands amid the ruins of the village of Mullikpúr Koyi, about three miles due west of the celebrated Kutb Minár. Asár-us-Sunnadid, Dehli, 1854, pp. 23, 30 (No. 12, 18, Facsimile), and 60 (modern transcript revised). See also Journal Asiatique, M. G. de Tassy's translation of the *Urdu* text; also Journal Archæological Society of Dehli, p. 57, and Hand-book for Dehli, 1863, p. 85.

¹ Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh, another son of Altamsh, who for a brief period held the throne of Dehli, found a final resting-place on the chosen site of Mullikpúr; and his brother in deferred succession, entitled Mu'izz-ud-dín *Bahádm Sháh*, followed him into the Tombs of the Kings in the same locality.—Asár-us-Sunnadid, pp. 25, 26. Elliot's *Historians*, iii., p. 382. *Chronicles of Pathán Kings*, p. 290.

² See p. 35 *infra*.

No. 12. Silver. Size 8. Weight, 163·1 grs. *Unique.* British Museum.



OBVERSE.

السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ
نَاصِرُ الدُّنْيَا وَالْدِّينِ
أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ مُحَمَّدُ
شَاهُ بْنُ سُلْطَانَ



REVERSE.

فِي عَهْدِ الْأَمَامِ
الْمُسْتَنْصِرِ بِاللَّهِ أَمِيرِ
الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

Al Mustansir billah was inaugurated on the 14th of Rajab, 623 A.H.=1226 A.D., the same day that his father Al Zāhir died.—Bar Hebraeus, p. 303.

I quote in illustration of my previous remarks, the legends on the special issue of Altamsh on the occasion of the receipt of his diploma of investiture in A.H. 626.

Weight of the B. M. Coin, 164 grains.

OBVERSE—لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ وَرَسُولُهُ

REVERSE—As above, in No. 12, with similarly formed characters.¹

It may be noted that on a like occasion of the reception of the Egyptian Khalif's diploma at Dehli in 744 A.H., Muhammad bin Tughlak adopted a similar method of exhibiting his respect by introducing the pontiff's name on the coinage to the exclusion of his own.

The identification of the individual, who styles himself Daulat Shāh, with many high-sounding prefixes, on the sub-joined coin, demanded a certain amount of patient patch-

¹ Chronicles of the Pathān Kings, p. 46.

work, which I have relegated to the note below.¹ Suffice it to say that *Daulat Sháh bin Modúd* is the person who is spoken of elsewhere as *Ikhtiyár-ud-dín BALKÁ*² *Khilji*, and who appears in history on the single occasion of his possessing himself of the Kingdom of Bengal on the death of *Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd*, and his subsequent suppression and capture on the advance of *Altamsh's* forces in the self-same year, 627 A.H., he was unwise enough to record on his unauthorized coinage.

در ماه جمادي الاولی سنه ست و عشرين و ستمائه خبر فوت
ملک سعید ناصرالدین محمود برسد بلکه ملک خلجی در ممالک
لکهنوتی عصیان آورد و سلطان شمس الدین طاب ثراه لشکرهاي
هندوستان بطرف لکهنوتی برد و در شهر سنه سبع و عشرين و ستمائه
آن طایفی را بدست آورد و تخت لکهنوتی بملک علاءالدین جانی
داد علیه الرحمة و در رجب همین سال بحضرت جلال دهلی بار
آمد . ۱۷۴. Calcutta Text, p.

سلطان سعید شمس الدین چون بدیار لکهنوتی رسید بعد از فوت
ملک ناصرالدین محمود طاب ثراه و دفع فتنه ملک اختیارالدین
بلکه . ۱۶۲. Calcutta Text, p.

In the printed text, under the *first* Court Circular list of the ملوک واقرباء of Sultán Shams-ud-dín, we find the following entry, دولت شاه خلجی, of Sultán Shams-ud-dín, we find the following entry, دولت شاه خلجی, ملوک و اقرباء; and in the *second* document, purporting to be a variant of that official return, we read, ملوک اختیارالدین ایران شاه بلکه خلجی, ملوک اختیارالدین ایران شاه بلکه خلجی, (pp. ۱۷۷ and ۱۷۸), which latter version is greatly improved by the Oriental Lord Chamberlain's list preserved in a MS. in the B. M. (Addit. No. 26,189), which associates more directly the *title* with the *name*, and identifies the individual as ملوک اختیارالدین دولتشاه بلکه

² The word *Balká* has exercised the commentators. It may be found, however, in the early Ghaznavi name of *Balká-Tigin*. بلکه means a "camel colt," and تکیں is "handsome."

No. 13. Silver. Size 9½. Weight, 168. *Unique*. Plate i. fig. 9.
A.H. 627?

OVERSE.

المستنصر بالله

أمير المؤمنين السلطان

الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين

أبو الفتح أيلتمش السلطان

برهان أمير المؤمنين

REVERSE.

السلطان

العاقل شهنشاہ بادل

علاء الدنيا والدين أبو الغازي

دولتشاه بن مودود

عضد خليفه الله

ظهیر امیر المؤمنین

Margin—* * شهر سنه سبع

وعشرين وستمائه

The reading of *أبو الغازي* is speculative: the letters *العا* are distinct, as are also the two dots of the *ي*, but that letter *itself* cannot be traced, and the visible remains of the character succeeding the *العا* are more like *لي* or *لي* than the suggested *زي*.

Inscription of Altamsh.

Among the numerous inscriptions of Altamsh already known, no one possesses greater interest than the subjoined, which has lately been published in the J.A.S. Bengal.

Budáón was one of Altamsh's earliest charges, and from thence he was called to supreme sovereignty at Dehli on the death of Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg.

Inscription of Altamsh, on the gateway of the Jám'i Masjid at Budáón.¹

ادخلوها بسلام آمنين السلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم شمس

¹ Deciphered by Mr. Wilson, C.S., Budáón.—J.A.S.B., 1872, p. 112.

الدّنيا و الدّين غياث الاسلام و المسلمين اعدل الملوك و السلاطين
 ابوالمظفر ايلتمش السلطان ناصر امير المومنين خلد الله ملكه في
 شهر رمضان المبارك سنة ستماية و ثمانيه عشرين

Dated, *Ramāḍan* A.D. 628 [Nov. 1230 A.D.].

Coin of Rizāh.

I conclude this limited series, and complete this section of the numismatic history of the south, by the reproduction of the sole available *dated* coin of Rizāh, minted at Lakhnautī, in A.H. 635. After this epoch there follows an interval of more than half a century, during which we discover no coins of Bengal proper. But the year 691 A.H. may be said to inaugurate a new era, represented by the mintages of the more firmly-established local kings of the family of Nāṣir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, the son of Balban, who, perhaps wisely, preferred the placid repose of a *quasi*-vicerealty at Lakhnautī, to the turmoils of the Imperial throne, to which he was the acknowledged heir. He does not seem to have arrogated to himself the right to coin; and it was left to his second son Kai Kāús to resume that symbol of independent power.

No. 14. Silver. Weight, 164·5 grs. Size, 7. Lakhnautī, A.H. 635.
 The late General T. P. Smith.¹

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان الاعظم	في عهد الامام
جلالة الدنيا والدين	المستنصر امير
ملكه ابنت الشمس السلطان	المومنين
مهرة امير المومنين	Margin—
	ضرب هذا الفضة بلكنوتي سنة
	خمس و ثلاثين و ستماية

¹ Chronicles of the Pathān Kings, No. 90, p. 107. A similar coin (wanting in the date) is figured and described in the J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 186.

I may, perhaps, be permitted to extend this paper beyond the exact limit covered by Mr. Broadley's collection, in order to gather up such later antiquarian gleanings as chance to illustrate the obscure section of the history of Bengal during the first half-century of the 107 years comprised in the Kooch Bihár representative accumulations, which formed the subject of my previous paper on "The Initial Coinage of Bengal," or, in effect, to follow up the local changes, of which we have occasional monumental records, down to the time when Ilías Sháh attained independence, and expanded his boundaries and his power into imperial proportions.

The energy and research of our fellow-labourers in the East has been largely rewarded in these days by the number of inscriptions brought to light in various parts of the country, which have been deciphered, and more or less completely published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal under the supervision of their critical and indefatigable secretary, Dr. Blochmann, to whom we are indebted for such comprehensive analyses of the learning and traditions of the Court of Akbar and subsequent Mughal monarchs.

INSCRIPTION A.

The first mural record in point of date of which at present only a brief outline is available, consists of the

INSCRIPTION OF TUGHRIL KHÁN AT BIHÁR,
which is described as pertaining to "an edifice built in A.H. 640, or A.D. 1242, by 'Izz-ud-dín Abulfath Tughril Khán, who styles himself Sultán, and assumes other regal epithets, as *Khákán-ul-Mu'azzam*, *Khallada-lláhu mulakhu*," etc.¹

This is a most suggestive contribution to the other revelations of the condition of the country at this time, from which, on the full decipherment of the original text, we may perchance gain new knowledge of the ever imminent revolutions

¹ J.A.S.B. Proceedings, November, 1871, p. 247.

of regnant vassals in *partibus infidelium* against absent Muhammadan Emperors.

There is nothing, however, to cause surprise in the assumption of royal titles by Tughril on this occasion, as, although he had been a firm adherent of the Empress Rizāh, had been endowed by her with the honours of the *red umbrella*, and had coined assiduously the only silver money bearing her name hitherto discovered, his devotion to the Imperial throne was confessedly shaken after her death, and in this self-same year, 640 A.H., taking advantage of the weakness of the reigning monarch at Dehli, he proceeded to annex the province of Karra Mánikpúr, which in itself constituted an overt act of rebellion against his Suzerain.¹

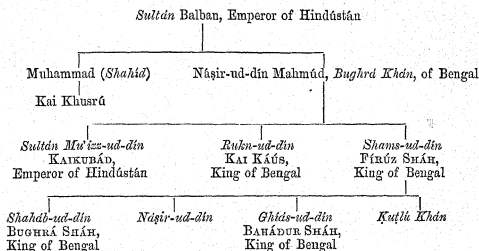
The next division of the Initial Coinage of Bengal brings us into much more definite contact with the realities of mediæval remains, and reminds me that on my first endeavour to identify the Kai Káús of the Kooch Bihár coins, I was obliged to crave indulgence in the mere reading of the dates so incoherently defined on his mintages. I had, for the time, to abandon all faith in the units, to claim only dubious credence for the *decimals*; though the *hundreds* necessarily remained beyond cavil, even had the Bengal Mint-officials blundered in the definition of the alien Semitic legends with more than their accustomed licence.

I was, however, venturesome enough on that occasion to suggest—in dotted lines and duly reserved *square* brackets—that the then obscure *Kai Káús* ought to have a place in the family tree of the house of Balban, a claim which had escaped the record of contemporary biographers, or the knowledge of later commentators on the local events in Bengal. I have since found abundant testimony towards establishing his true place both under the one and the other aspect.

On a recent occasion of reviewing my previous Essay on the Initial Coinage of Bengal, I embodied, with more confi-

¹ Minháj-us-Siráj, Persian text, p. 243. Stewart's Bengal, p. 61.

dence,¹ the restored genealogical tree, of which the following is a transcript:



In support of this direct line of descent, I can now quote evidence from two confirmatory sources, the incidental mention of Kai Káús as "the second son" of Násir-ud-din Mahmúd, on the eve of the interview of the rival monarchs, Kaikubád, the eldest son, *Sultán* of Hindústán, and their father, the occupying Lord of Bengal, which forms the subject of Mír Khusrú *Dehlavi's* celebrated poem the "*Kirán-us-S'adain*,"² and, also, the inscription reproduced *in extenso* below, which conclusively identifies the same prince in the paternal relation, and simultaneously attests his eventual regal succession in Bengal.

INSCRIPTION B.

Inscription of KAI KÁÚS in Gangarámpúr, Dínájpúr, at Damdamah, the old Deokót,³ dated Muharram, 697 A.H. [Oct., 1297 A.D.]

بنى هذه العمارة المسجد في عهد السلطان السلاطين ركن الدنيا
والدين ظل الله في الارضين كيكاس شاه بن محمود بن السلطان يمين

¹ Chronicles, p. 148.

² Professor Cowell's article in Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1860, p. 234; and Elliot's *Historians*, iii., p. 530.

³ See Buchanan's Dínájpúr, p. 50; and *anté*, p. 9.

خليفه الله ناصر امير المؤمنين خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بفرمان خسرو
 زمان شهاب الحق والدين سكندر ثانى الخ اعظم همايون ظفر خان
 بهرام ايتگين سلطانى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه ومد الله عمره بتوليت
 صالح جيوند ملتانى فى القرّة من المحرم شهر سنة سبع وتسعين
 وستمائة J.A.S.B., 1872, p. 103.

DR. H. BLOCHMANN'S TRANSLATION.

"This mosque was built during the reign of the king of kings, Rukn-ud-dunyā-waddīn, the shadow of God upon earth, Kai Kāús Shāh, son of Mahmūd, son of the Sultān, the right hand of the Khalīffah of God, the helper of the commander of the faithful—may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom!—at the order of the Lord of the age, by Shihāb-ul-haqq-waddīn, a second Alexander, the Ulugh-i-'Azam Humāyūn Zafar Khān Bahrām Itgīn—may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom, and may God prolong his life!—under the supervision (batauliyat) of Salāh Jīwand of Multān. On the 1st Muharram, 697 A.H. [19th Oct., 1297]."

I have reproduced in full the above inscription, alike in text, translation, and commentary,¹ as it corrects an avowedly imperfect reading which I had been favoured with by Col. Nassau Lees. Dr. Blochmann was so obliging as to forward me an impression of the original, that I might satisfy myself of the accuracy of the translation now given; but I have unfortunately mislaid the *facsimile* reproduction, and therefore abstain for the moment from any further comments.

¹ Dr. Blochmann continues:—"As mentioned above, this inscription is quoted by Mr. Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings*, p. 140, where a 'rough' translation by Colonel Nassau Lees is given. The 'translation' leaves out the name of the builder, and wrongly puts his titles in apposition to the words *Khusrāw zamīn*. The absence of a *facsimile* has led Mr. Thomas to state that Kai Kāús confessed allegiance to 'Alā-ud-dīn of Dihlī, who is the Sikandar-uṣṣānī *par excellence*; but the grammatical construction of the sentence, and the *idiom*, show that the words 'Sikandar-uṣṣānī, Ulugh-i-'Azam Humāyūn and Zafar Khān,' are merely titles of Bahrām Itgīn. He must have been a Malik of high rank, as the titles are high; but my Tribenī inscriptions (about to be published in this volume) give Maliks not only similar titles, but also the phrase 'May God perpetuate his rule and kingdom,' and even *julūs* names, if I may say so. 'Shihāb-ul-Haqq-wad-dīn,' therefore, is merely the *julūs* name of Malik Zafar Khān, and shows, moreover, that the Sikandar-uṣṣānī cannot be 'Alā-ud-dīn, whose full *julūs* name with the *kunya* was 'Alā-ud-dīn *Abulmuzaḥfar* Muḥammad Shāh.'" This inscription is further referred to by Mr. W. M. Bourke (1872, p. 143), who expresses a hope that his new "rubblings," now submitted to the Society, may resolve Dr. Blochmann's doubt regarding a portion of this Inscription, and supply the date in his No. 4 Inscription.

INSCRIPTION C.

Inscription of SHAMS-UD-DÍN FÍRÚZ of Bengal, on Zafar Khán's Madrasah, at Tribeni,¹ dated A.H. 713.

الحمد لولي الحمد * بنيت هذه المدرسة المسماة دارالخيرات 'في
عهد سلطنة والي المبرات' صاحب التاج والختم 'ظل الله في العالم'
المكرم الاكرام الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم 'شمس الدنيا والدين'
المخصوص بعناية رب العالمين وارث ملك سليمان 'ابو المظفر فيروز
شاه السلطان خلد الله سلطانه' J.A.S.B. 1870, p. 287.

The text goes on to say that the inscription was engraved under the direction of Khán Muhammad Zafar Khán, on the 1st of Muharram, 713 A.H. Zafar Khán's *Mosque*, in the same locality, bears the earlier date of 698 A.H. (A.D. 1298).

¹ Tribeni or *Triveni* (as Mr. Money writes it, J.A.S.B., 1847, p. 393), N. of Húglí. Dr. Blochmann adds, "Tribeni is often called *Tripáni* ("three streams"), and by the Muhammadans *Tripáni Sháh-púr*, or *Fírúzzádd* (see also *Áin-i-Akbari* (Gladwin), ii., p. 6; J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II. (1866), p. 202, *Note 1*, and *Note 1*, p. 205). Dr. Blochmann, in adverting to Marsden's coin of Tájj-ud-dín *Fírúz Sháh* (No. DCCCLXXVIII., and Laidley, J.A.S.B., 1846, pl. v., fig. 17), has followed the old authorities in attributing the piece to a Bengal king of that name, and does not seem to be aware that the coin was minted in the Dakhan in 807 A.H., during the reign of the *Bahmání* Fírúz Sháh (A.H. 800 to 825). See my *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, p. 345. On the other part, I have to thank Dr. Blochmann for a rectification, to which he seems to attach an undue importance.—J.A.S.B., July, 1872, p. 119. In my recent work just quoted, I had occasion to notice, *en passant*, the contemporary coins of the local dynasties more or less connected with the central Muhammadan Imperialism. Among other hitherto unpublished specimens, I described a coin of "Ahmad Sháh bin Ahmad Sháh, Alwali, *Al Bahmání*," (p. 343), dated 856 A.H., and I submitted, without any reserve, in illustration of the piece itself, a facsimile of the original, designed and executed by an independent artist—which may be seen to be defective in both the subordinate points, in which Dr. Blochmann has the advantage of me in a better preserved and more fully legible coin lately acquired by Colonel Hyde. I take no blame to myself for reading the *absolutely detached*

روف of the one specimen for the improved الروف of the other, nor am I surprised at the appearance of the concluding word المهيمن when it is to be found in the very next page of my work, where I had full authority for its citation.

INSCRIPTIONS D. E. F.

Further Inscriptions of Shams-ud-din Firúz.

Dr. Blochmann contributes the following remarks towards the elucidation of some unpublished records of this king :

"The inscriptions at Tribení near Húglí mention the same king (Shams-ud-dín Firúz) as having reigned in 1313 A.D. Two of Mr. Broadley's inscriptions—and this will show the value of his discoveries—prove—

1. That Firúz already reigned in 1309 over (Western) Bengal, or Lakhnautí.

2. That South Bihár under him belonged to Bengal, whilst other inscriptions show that Bihár in 1352 again belonged to Dehlí.

3. That Shams-ud-dín had a son of the name of Hálim Khán, who in 1309 and 1315—and hence most likely during the intervening years—was governor of Bihár."¹

As respects the later numismatic accessions to this henceforth *second* period of the Muslim annals of Bengal, they may be said to be confined to minor varieties and repetitions of known types, whose dates are, as yet, imperfectly ascertained. A single coin of mark claims attention, in the shape of a gold piece of Bahádur Sháh, part of his tribute or recognition money (similar to the silver piece No. 9, O.S.) coined in his own name, but with the full acknowledgment of the supremacy of Muhammad bin Tughlak. The piece itself is the property of Mr. Delmerick—to whom we owe the first notice of the *unique* coin of the Bactrian king *Plato*, which has lately been secured for the British Museum ;²—a medal, I may remark, *en passant*, that contributes the most striking testimony to the value of numismatic inquiries perhaps ever adduced, in confirming by the single date, hitherto known in the entire Bactrian series, which appears on its surface, the

¹ "The two inscriptions of Hálim Khán contain the dates 1309 and 1315 ; the former inscription seems to have belonged to a Saraf, the latter to a Mosque." J.A.S.B., Proceedings, 1871, p. 246.

² J.A.S.B., February, 1872, p. 34.

exact epoch of Eukratides' death in B.C. 165, which had already been speculatively fixed from less definite data.¹ The specific determination of this era is of the highest importance as giving us a standpoint, so to say critical, towards the close of a dynasty, whose members left so few positive traces behind them, and whose annals were little likely to have been preserved either by the hostile races who succeeded them, or their indifferent cousins who remained in the ancestral homes of the West.

I have little left to say, in conclusion, beyond momentarily adverting to one of the confessed difficulties of the day, the identification of the easily-shifted sites of Eastern cities, whose removal, apart from the caprice of the rulers, was, in this locality, at all times liable to be suggested, if not enforced, by Nature herself, in the ever-changing channels of the waters of the Delta of the Ganges.²

With regard to the emplacement of *Pundua* or "Fírúzpúr," a possible claimant has appeared in the shape of the "Pundooah" (23° 3'–88° 18') near Húghlí, which is in a measure connected with the area of Shams-ud-dín Fírúz of Bengal's extant memorials at Tribeni, one of the subordinate villages of which still retains the alternative name of "Fírúzábád."³

But I am satisfied that the *Pandua*, near Maldah,⁴ is the

¹ Prinsep's Essays, ii., p. 175. J.R.A.S. (o.s.) XX., p. 119. Gen. Cunningham Num. Chron. ix. (1869), p. 230. I am now, apart from other reasons, the less inclined to accept the author's "83 of the Bactrian era"—which he derives from a quasi-monogram on the coins of Helioeles.

² This is a description of the local peculiarities published in 1820. "In tracing the sea coast of this Delta, there are eight openings found, each of which appears to be a principal mouth of the Ganges. As a strong presumptive proof of the wanderings of that river, from one side of the Delta to the other, it may be observed, that there is no appearance of virgin earth between the Tiperah hills on the east and the district of Burdwan on the west; nor below Dacca and Bauleah on the north. In all the sections of the numerous creeks and rivers of the Delta, nothing appears but sand and black mould in regular strata, until the clay is reached, which forms the lower part of their beds; nor is there any substance so coarse as gravel either in the Delta, or nearer the sea than 400 miles (by the course of the Ganges) at Oudanulla, where a rocky point, part of the base of the neighbouring hills, projects into the river."—Hamilton's Hindustan, i., p. 123.

³ J.A.S. Bengal, 1870, p. 282, and note, p. 37, *anté*.

⁴ Rennell and Stewart were alike convinced that the northern city of that name was the scene of Fírúz's contest with Ilías Sháh. Rennell remarks: "Paudua, or Purruah, mentioned as a royal residence in Bengal, in the year 1353 (Dow, i. 340), [4to. edit. i., 326; Briggs, i., 449], is about seven miles to the north of Maldah, and ten from the nearest part of Gour. Many of its ruins yet remain,

real place of mintage of the coins bearing the royal designation of this prince, which later in point of time supersedes the discarded record of "*Lakhnauti*" on the local currency. While the group of "Seven Villages" or Townships in Lower Bengal is defined solely by the appropriate mint term of "*Satgaon*," whose leading centre perhaps oscillated according to the progressive changes of the convenient wharves and landing-places of that emporium. If I could be equally certain of the very reasonable identification of "*Jugdula*" ($25^{\circ} 10' - 87^{\circ} 58'$) of our recent surveys,¹ with the "*Akdalah*" of the Muhammadan historians,² the case would be complete and final in favour of the northern metropolis.

Colonel Haughton's recent investigations enable him to say that *Ghâspûr* is also "near Gaur, about one mile N.W. of Maldah."³ And Dr. Blochmann very safely affirms that *Muazzamâbâd* is in Sonargaon.⁴ A small incidental note will be found at p. 9 *antè*, on Deokôt and the Muslim Lakhnauti, but the subject under its geographical aspect, promises to repay more ample investigation.

particularly the Addeenah mosque, and the pavement of a very long street, which lies in the line of the road leading from Mauldah to Dinagepour."—Rennell, Map, etc., p. 56.

Stewart's understanding of the localities may be traced in the following passage : "Ilyas took post himself in the fort of Akdala; leaving his son to defend the city of Pundua (near Mauldah), which for some time past he had made his capital. The Emperor advanced to a place now called Firozpûrâbâd, and commenced the operations of the siege of Pundua."—Hist. Bengal, p. 84. See also Hamilton's Hindustan, i., 230.

¹ Surveyor General of India's latest Maps.

² These passages are given at large in my previous paper. J.R.A.S., II., p. 206. See also pp. 203-210, and Stewart's Bengal, pp. 84 *note*, 86 and 87; as well as Elliot's Historians, iii., pp. 294-308.

³ See Chronicles of Pathân Kings, 153. *Âin-i-Akbari*, ii., p. 3, *suppt.*, and Grant's Report, p. 372.

⁴ Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal, April, 1870, p. 121.

ART. XIV.—*The Legend of Dipaṅkara Buddha. Translated from the Chinese (and intended to illustrate Plates xxix. and L., 'Tree and Serpent Worship').* By S. BEAL.

FROM a brief examination of a work in the India Office Library, called "*K'ai yuen shi kiau*," (one volume of which is unfortunately missing), I find that the number of books included in the Chinese Buddhist Canon, down to the time of Tchi-Shing, the compiler of the work in question (who lived A.D. 730 during the Tang dynasty (618-904 A.D.), and shortly after Hwen-Thsang), amounted altogether to 1076, divided into 5048 chapters (*kiouen*), and included within 480 wrappers (*chi/h*). Of these, 330 belong to the "Little vehicle," and 968 to the "Great vehicle," leaving 108 miscellaneous and unclassified. Of the "Little vehicle," 240 are Sûtras, in 618 chapters, and 48 wrappers; 54 belong to the Vinaya Piṭaka, in 446 chapters and 45 wrappers; 36 belong to the Abidharma Piṭaka, in 698 chapters and 72 wrappers. Of the 968 belonging to the "Great vehicle," 515 are Sûtras, in 2173 chapters and 203 wrappers; 26 belong to the Vinaya Piṭaka, in 54 chapters and 5 wrappers; and 97 belong to the Abidharma Piṭaka, in 518 chapters and 50 wrappers.

Amongst other works named in this valuable Thesaurus is one bearing the title "*Fu-pen-hing-tai-king*," i.e. "Miscellaneous Notices respecting the Birth and History of Buddha," translated by Djinakûta (or Dñānakûta), a native of Gandhâra, in Northern India, who lived in the time of the Sui dynasty (581-617 A.D.). From this work I have selected the following legend of Dipaṅkara Buddha, to illustrate two of the sculptures occurring at Sanchi and Amravati, and represented in Pl. xxix. and Pl. L., "Tree and Serpent Worship." I can have little doubt that these

identifications will be allowed to be plausible at least, and perhaps more than plausible.

The legend begins with the previous history of Dipaṅkara, when he was an attendant on Ratnabhava Buddha:—

At this time the world-honoured one addressed Ananda as follows:—“Ananda! I remember in ages gone by, too numerous for me to utter, that there was a sacred Chakravartī Rāja, called Sudarsana, who, having subdued the four regions (*i.e.* the world), governed men according to law. During his reign there were no punishments of whipping or death—no soldier’s weapons to torture or destroy, but all was prosperity and peace, and the people lived virtuously and religiously. Ananda! the city in which Sudarsana lived was called Jambunada, the walls from east to west were twelve yōjanas in length, and from north to south seven yōjanas. Ananda! that city of Jambunada was in a remarkable degree beautifully adorned and clean. The four precious substances were exclusively used in the garniture of it,—to wit, yellow gold, white silver, crystal and corne-
lian. Around the city there were seven distinct walls, each wall seven ‘*sin*’ (*i.e.* 56 cubits) in height, and three ‘*sin*’ (24 cubits) in breadth. Around this city, moreover, were seven successive railings beautifully carved, etc. [Here follows the usual description of a perfectly adorned city.] At this time, Ananda! there was a Buddha born called Ratnabhava, etc. This Buddha had formerly as a Bôdhisatwa lived in this city of Jambunada; and now he approached the city one day early in the morning to beg, at which time countless Devas descended to do him honour, and surrounded him as with a retinue, etc. At this time there was a certain village outside the city, one of whose inhabitants was going to be married to a person within the city, and on entering within the walls, he saw the place fully adorned and swept. Being filled with astonishment and reverence, he asked some one he met—‘What is going on here?’ The person replied—‘There is a Buddha born called Ratnabhava, etc.; he is just going to enter the city to beg his food, and therefore these preparations have been made.’ And then he went on to tell

the villager all about the excellences, etc., of Tathâgata, and of the Law and the Church. The villager, having heard the glorious nature of the three gems thus described, was filled with joy. He exulted amazingly, and reflected thus, 'Ratnabhava, etc., is seldom seen in the world. I will now go straight to him.' So thinking, he forthwith mixed with a crowd of citizens, and went together with them to the place where Ratnabhava was. Having arrived there, he thought within himself, 'If this Tathâgata has indeed acquired entire wisdom so as to know all hearts, he will know mine, and therefore he ought first of all to address himself to me in some consolatory figure or parable.' At this time Ratnabhava Buddha, knowing that man's heart, took the lead, and immediately addressed him and spoke. Then that villager was filled with joy; he exulted exceedingly. And because his vow was thus fulfilled, he respectfully requested Buddha to partake of his hospitality on the succeeding day. Then Buddha remained silent, on which the villager, accepting this silence for consent, was filled with joy, and went back to his house to make due preparations. Then the four Devarâjas, Brahmâ, Sakra, and the rest, and all the multitude of Devas, bearing every kind of offering, came to present them to Tathâgata. At that time the villager, coming to his house, on that very night arranged every kind of delicate food, of exquisite flavour and most pleasing taste. Having arranged it thus, he got up very early the next day, and began sweeping his house and sprinkling all sorts of perfumed water about it, and scattering all round flowers of the greatest beauty and choicest odor; then having arranged a seat, he sent messengers to tell Buddha, saying, 'All things are ready, oh, would that you would come to my humble dwelling!'

"Then Ratnabhava, early in the morning, putting on his robes, and taking his alms-bowl, surrounded by numberless followers, went to receive the proffered hospitality. Arrived there, his disciples took their seats in due order. The villager, having seen Ratnabhava seated, immediately with his own hand offered to Tathâgata every kind of exquisite food and drink, speaking thus, 'Eat, my Lord, and all the

congregation, according to your desire.' When they had so eaten, still the provisions remained unexhausted, on which the villager thought thus, 'The meats and the drinks remain undiminished; doubtless this is in consequence of the miraculous power of Tathâgata adding continually to them according to the decrease from consumption. Now, then, I will go call my relatives to come and behold Tathâgata, so that when they have seen and have eaten, and are full, I may have further joy.' Again, he thought thus, 'Wonderful! wonderful, indeed, beyond all calculation, is the extent of the power of Buddha: for here come all my relatives, unbidden by any one, to assist and help me; there is no need for me, therefore, to invite a single person; and without using any effort, all things again arrange themselves as I would have them do.' Then Ratnabhava, after the feast, repeated such portions of the Law as were appropriate, for the sake of the villager, to his great joy; [the result of which was that he attained a new heart and entire peace.] Thus the villager and his friends, having heard the Law, arrived at Supreme Wisdom, and each went to his home. (This happy result having followed, the villager then said :) 'Oh, may I in future attain to the perfect knowledge of this Ratnabhava Tathâgata.' And again he said, 'Oh, would that I, in the midst of the great congregation, might thus be able to deliver the Law, and cause the hearts of men to rejoice, just as this Ratnabhava Tathâgata has preached among his congregation, and caused the Bhikshus to arrive at peace and unity of conduct!' Then that villager, having paid full and repeated reverence to Tathâgata, entered the community, shaved his head, left his home, and became a Bhikshu.

"Ananda, after an innumerable number of *asaṃkhyeyas* of ages, this Bhikshu again encountered a Buddha, who was born in the world under the name of Prabhākara Tathâgata. Then this Bhikshu, paying religious worship to this Buddha, and observing the precepts of personal purity, became one of his disciples, as before. In this condition he once more prayed, 'Oh, that I, in virtue of the merit I have acquired, may, during my future births from age to age, escape being

born in the inferior paths!' At this time Prabhākara Buddha, well acquainted with his prayer, delivered this prediction in reference to him, and said, 'Virtuous one, in ages to come, after endless *asaṃkhyeyas* of *kalpas*, you shall attain the condition of Buddha Tathāgata, etc., and your name shall be Dipaṅkara.' [And so he was born, after the manner of every Buddha, from the right side of his mother.] Meantime Dipaṅkara Bôdhisatwa, with every faculty and function perfect, and of great grace of person, day by day grew up to manhood. Dwelling in the palace provided for him, he indulged himself in every pleasure [the five pleasures]. But, in the midst of all, a thought arose in him that all these joys were but for a moment. Having thought of this, he left his home, shaved his head, and became a recluse; he put on the *kashāya* garments of a hermit, and left all connexions with the world. Then he sought the attainment of Supreme Wisdom, and arrived at complete emancipation. Afterwards, using his Divine faculty of sight, he reflected thus: 'Who will be the first to hear and receive the true Law?' Immediately he saw that the world was without any one fit for so high a privilege. Again he reflected (looked) three times, but still found no one. Thus he lived in the world three thousand years, but still remained alone without any disciple. After three thousand years, Dipaṅkara thought thus: 'All men are sunk in sin, and fascinated this long time by the deceptions of sense. I must now convert them, and give them understanding.' Reflecting thus, he caused the appearance of a city to proceed from his lamp and fix itself in space. He made all the buildings to appear as if constructed of crystal, and outside the city every kind of Tāla-tree made of the seven precious substances, and avenues and gardens (as before described). Suddenly the people of Djambu (*i.e.* of the world) saw this city from its four walls emit very fierce flames, bright and burning hot. Then great fear filled their breasts, and they congregated together and spoke thus—'Alas! alas! see how yonder abode is burning in flames, surely it will be soon entirely destroyed!' Then they looked for some Buddha to appear to convert and save

those wretched people. But they only saw the flames still burning, and the people in vain seeking for refuge and shelter. Desiring protection, there was none to protect; they looked for salvation, but there was no one able to save! Then they said again—‘Oh, would that that city could be brought near to us, or we to them, that we might extinguish the conflagration!’ Just then they saw Devas, Nāgas, Yakshas, Gandharvas, those who were men and not men (Kinnaras),¹ come forth from that city, and cry out, ‘Why do the flames burn so? Whence comes this fire?’ Then there appeared three porchways, one of gold, another of silver, the third of crystal; in the middle of the way were Tāla-trees made of the seven precious substances; from the midst of these trees there came a voice, which said, ‘Oh, all ye men! Assemble ye in one place, if ye indeed desire to see Dipaṅkara Buddha Tathāgata, etc., for that Buddha not long hence will descend to Jambudwīpa.’ Then all the people of Jambudwīpa went straightway towards those covered ways to see Dipaṅkara coming forth from the city and descend to Jambudwīpa. At this time Dipaṅkara, having appeared, took his seat on the Lion throne, and for the sake of those people began to deliver the Law, *i.e.* in praise of charity, purity, abstinence, and in recommendation of the merit of the religious profession; and then seeing that there were signs of conversion, he delivered the whole Law, as former Buddhas had done, *viz.* that relating to the four Truths—sorrow, accumulation, deliverance, and the paths. Then on the first day of this preaching there were 6000 myriads of men converted, who became Rahats, and their hearts freed from all external laws. The second day he converted 5000 myriads of men; the third day 4000 myriads, till the seventh day. After this Dipaṅkara remained in the world one *kalpa*.”

Again, Buddha spoke thus to Ananda :—“I remember, in countless ages gone by, there was a king called ‘Niang-nu,’ (Satruñjaya), of the Kshatriya caste, and duly anointed, accord-

¹ *Vide* Jul. ii. 390, *n.* Compare this account with pl. xxix. fig. 1, Tree and Serpent Worship. The horned figures on the right of the plate evidently represent Kinnaras. (*Vide* Jul. *ut supra*.)

ing to the rule of his ancestors (*shan*). He lived in a great city called Padma (or Paduma), twelve yôjanas long, seven yôjanas broad; the ground even and smooth [here follows the usual description of a city], equal in every respect to the city Arka of Vaisravana, the Northern Ruler,—on every side equally glorious, so perfectly adorned and beautiful was it. Ananda! that Satruñjaya Râja had a certain rich and eminent Brahman, whose name was Sûryapati, brave and strong, possessed of every species of wealth—gold, gems, elephants, horses, slaves, cattle of every kind, without stint. Within his treasure-house was found every kind of precious substance—yellow gold, white silver, true pearls, lapis lazuli, crystal, cornelian, coral, all entirely complete as the (treasury of) Vaisravana, the Northern King.

“Ananda! at this time Sûryapati, the great Brahman, on account of the exceeding affection he bore to the King, constantly had conversation with him; and every day, for a short time at least during the day, went to visit him, with scarce any deviation. Ananda! that Satruñjaya Râja at this time had a certain business in hand, which he entrusted to the Brahman Sûryapati to settle, desiring him to decide and judge concerning it well and truly. Sûryapati having equitably disposed of the case, it afterwards entered into the King's head that he would do something to double the prosperity and happiness of this Brahman, and so he divided his kingdom with him, and built him a city called Yen-chü [lord of the boundary], with streets and gates perfectly adorned, and lovely even as the city Padma itself. Ananda! that Sûryapati Râja [called Râja, because he now possessed half the kingdom] had a queen called Chandrottara. Ananda, when Dipaṅkara Buddha descended from the Tusita heaven, he was incarnated in the womb of Chandrottara, entering through her right side, in the palace of Sûryapati. Ananda, after a time Satruñjaya Râja got to hear the news that the chief lady of Sûryapati had brought forth in the royal palace a boy called Dipaṅkara, very beautiful to behold, and able to give great joy; unequalled in the world, endowed with all the characteristic marks, pure as a golden

figure. The young child having been born, his horoscope was taken, and the Brahmans declared that he would be either a Chakravarti or a Buddha; if the former, he would possess the seven insignia, viz. a golden discus, a Divine pearl, a priceless woman, an elephant, horse, lordly minister and treasurer, and every prosperity would attend his reign; but if he be a recluse, then he would arrive at complete enlightenment, and be known by the ten names belonging to a Buddha. Ananda! this child became a recluse, and fulfilled the functions and mission of a Buddha. At this time, Satruñjaya reflected thus:—‘Seldom indeed does a “Lord of the World” come to be born; it is difficult to hear such a one, and difficult to see him.’ So Satruñjaya sent messengers to the abode of Sūryapati to speak to him thus: ‘We hear now that the queen of your majesty has borne a beautiful boy, endowed with all the peculiar marks. We desire to invite that Dipaṅkara Buddha, etc., to come and live at our city of Padma, and to receive our offerings, and we will send an escort to meet him.’ Then those ambassadors, thus instructed, went to the city Yen-chü, and delivered their message. Then Sūryapati Rāja, having received the message, was sorrowful, and quickly assembled his council and ministers, and spoke thus:—‘Consider well, I pray you, what answer is to be given to this message.’ Then all the ministers addressed the King, and said: ‘Concerning this matter, we think Dipaṅkara Buddha himself should be consulted; for he has great charity and compassion.’ The Rāja Sūryapati replied: ‘Such also is my opinion.’ Then the Rāja and all his ministers went in a body to the place where Dipaṅkara Buddha was, and having arrived there, (they delivered the message). Then that Buddha assayed to tranquillize the King, and said: ‘Mahārāja! compose your heart, and be not distressed; have no fear or grief on this score; for in truth I myself at this time wish to go forth and travel abroad through the various places of the earth, to teach and convert men; for my love extends even to the whole human race.’ Then Dipaṅkara Buddha set out, surrounded by an innumerable body of disciples, and departed.

Meanwhile Sūryapati escorted him to the borders of his territory, and then, having worshipped at his feet and performed three circuits round him, with many tears, he left him, and returned to his own palace.

"Now Satruñjaya Rāja, hearing that Dipaṅkara was coming to his dominions, even to the city of Padma, surrounded by clouds of followers, was filled with joy, and ordered forth with all the roads to be swept, watered, and garnished, even like the fairy city of the Gandharvas. Then the King Satruñjaya published an edict to all within and without the city for a distance of twelve yōjanas, to the effect that whatever persons there were within such distance, none whatever should purchase for themselves flowers or perfume; but in whatever places such were to be bought, that they should be reserved for the King as offerings to Dipaṅkara Buddha. Then Satruñjaya Rāja, accompanied by the four kinds of military escort, in great display, went forth out of the city to meet that Dipaṅkara Buddha.

"At this time, on the southern face of the Himālayas belonging to that country, there was a certain Brahmachāri called Ratna(?). His father and mother belonging to the caste of Brahmans, for seven generations past, without the least defilement or reproach, perfectly versed in the four Vedas, etc. His pure birth was affirmed by the horoscope of a talented soothsayer, and 500 children of illustrious families were present on the auspicious occasion to present him with offerings. [Ananda! you must know that this Ratna, the Brahman, was none other than Maitreya Bôdhisatwa that now is.]

"Now amongst the 500 young men who ever attended the person of Ratna, to hear from his mouth the mode of reciting the Sacred Books, there was a particular Brahmachāri called Megha, conspicuous among the rest, almost equal to his master in learning, sixteen years old, and of very graceful appearance, of pure birth during seven generations, his family without reproach, his horoscope also a perfect one. He was incomparable in the world, his body like yellow gold, and his head-dress (or hair) the same; his voice soft and sweet, as

the voice of Brahmā. This youth, having learned from the mouth of Ratna the mode of reciting the Sacred Books perfectly, desired at length permission to return home. Ratna, being loth to let Megha go, addressed him thus: 'My son (*manava*), I have yet one Shaster handed down from Rishis of old times, unknown by sound or by sight to heretics and Brahmans; wait with me, and I will teach it to you.' The youth replied, 'Oh, would that you would instruct me in it!' Then the Brahman taught him this also. Afterwards the youth requested once more to know what else he had to acquire. The Brahman replied, 'There are certain household rules peculiar to the Brahman caste, these also you must learn from my mouth for your own guidance and profit.' The youth replied, 'Would that you would teach me these rules!' [The Brahman gave his consent on condition the youth would in return make certain offerings to him.] Then the youth replied, 'I have no such gifts as these to offer to my lord; but I will, by your permission, go beg them all over the world, and then come back and give them to you.' On this the Brahman gave him permission to go even as he desired. Then Megha, having prostrated himself before his master, and having walked round him three times in token of respect, departed.

"At this time Megha heard that there was a place 500 yôjanas off from the Snowy Mountains called Survacha (?). In that city there was a distinguished Brahman called Tsai-tse-tai, exceedingly rich. This Brahman desired to make offerings to the 60,000 Brahmans who, according to appointment, were met together in assembly called Mōcha. Accordingly he had prepared for each individual a parasol, etc., and for the head Brahman (*Sthavira*) very excellent gifts of gold, together with 1000 cows with their calves, 500 damsels, their bodies beautifully ornamented, among whom Shen-chi was chief. And now the year of the Pañcha assembly having expired all but one day, the Brahman youth Megha arrived from the Snowy Mountains, and came to the city, even to the place where the assembly was being held. Then those 60,000 Brahmans, seeing the youth afar off, immediately raised a

great cry, and said, 'Bravo! How well selected is this place for the Pañcha assembly, for here comes Brahmâ Deva himself to receive the offerings of this congregation!' Then Megha, the young man, replied to these 60,000 Brahmans, and said, 'Call not out in this way, as if I were Brahmâ Deva, for I am in truth a man, and not Brahmâ.' Then the Brahmans said, 'Then who are you?' To which he replied, 'Is it possible that you have not heard of the Brahmachâri who resides on the southern side of the Snowy Mountains, whose name is Ratna, so thoroughly versed in every kind of religious works, with his 500 disciples, of whom Megha is the chief, a youth of sixteen years of age, completely instructed, and equal to his master, with a voice as sweet as that of Brahmâ Deva? Have you Brahmans heard of this before or not?' Then they all answered, 'We have.' Then said Megha, 'Well, then, I am that well-instructed youth.' On this those Brahmans were filled with joy, and cried with a loud voice, 'Bravo! bravo! This assembly is well constituted now that Megha has come to receive its offerings!'

"At this time the wife of the Brahman Tsai-tse-tih, with Shen-chi and the other damsels, from the top of the balcony saw afar off this youth, so beautiful in appearance, and beyond compare for grace. Then having seen him they conceived great joy in their hearts, and turning to the four quarters of the heavens they did reverence to all the Devas and Spirits, and their hearts secretly entertained this thought, 'Oh, would that this fair youth might overcome in his discourse the Sthavira and all the Brahmans, so that we might get rid of these ungracious companions, and not be given to such contemptible people in marriage!' Then Megha, advancing into the assembly, respectfully turned round three times, after which he advanced straight up to the Sthavira, and, with soft and courteous voice, addressed him thus, 'Venerable sir, what Shaster can you recite?' Then all the 60,000 Brahmans cried out together, 'Megha, respectable youth! ask not such a question of our President, as to what Shaster he can recite; for in truth he is able, according to the rules of our caste, to recite thoroughly from beginning to end all

the Shasters [or it may be 'recite and maintain']. Then the youth Megha replied, 'Ye Brahmans, your President may indeed be able to recite from memory all the medical and polite treatises [or works on mechanical arts], but it is only my master who possesses the scarce and rarely found literature of the Brahmans. For instance, let me ask you, have you a Shaster called "Sien-yeou"¹ or no?' Then the 60,000 Brahmans all replied, 'As yet we never heard of such a treatise even by name, much less have we got it, and still less are we able to recite it.' Then Megha replied, 'My master, teaching me the different works of the Law, amongst others instructed me in this Shaster of the Veda called Sien-yeou; and, moreover, I can recite it.' Then all those Brahmans composing the assembly said, 'Be pleased to explain and give us the pleasure of hearing this new Shaster.' Then the youth Megha, occupying a place appointed by the President, with the voice of Brahmâ, recited that Shaster of the Veda known as Sien-yeou. Then all those Brahmans, filled with joy, cried out with one voice, 'Precisely according to our own heart and mind!' Then they joyously requested him to become their President, and partake of the best drink and food provided for such a dignified office. Then Megha, pushing the President, commanded him to come down from his seat, and take his place below; and then himself ascending the seat of honour, received the water and food, after which also he accepted such of the offerings as were fit.

"Then the great Brahman Ts'ai-tse-tih was distressed with the thought that he had not arranged the laws of the assembly according to the rules of the highest doctrine, forasmuch as the youth Megha declined to accept some of the offerings, whereupon he spake thus, after a profound reverence, to Megha, 'My Lord will surely receive these my gifts, and not cause me to be deficient in my duty to the assembly!' On which Megha replied, 'Illustrious Brahman, your gifts are superabundant; it is not that there is anything wanting,

¹ Sien-yeou is equivalent to "Former Existence," the work therefore would be one of the Pûranas.

but only that some things are good for me to accept, and others not; and therefore I decline the latter.' .

"Then the vanquished President thought thus within himself, 'For a long time have I coveted these gifts, and now this stripling has come and pushed me down from my place of honour, and taken my reward. If in future births, in return for my present merit, I am born in the world with this youth, then may I have an opportunity of returning him a due recompense!' [Ananda! at that time I was Megha, and the Brahman was Daṇḍapāni, and the Sthavira was Devadatta, and so in every birth Devadatta through his ignorance has opposed and hated me.]

"Then Megha, taking with him the various gifts he had received, desired to return towards the Snowy Mountains, in order to offer them to the Brahmachâri there. And so he passed through various villages, towns, cities, and countries, staying and going as he list, observing men and things, till at last he arrived at the city of Paduma and entered it, when lo! he beheld it adorned and beautified to a degree that cannot be described (as we have mentioned above). Then the youth thought thus within himself, 'Why is this city of Paduma thus adorned? Is it possible that some one desires to hold a Mōcha meeting here? Or perhaps there is about to be a public sacrifice made in honour of the stars and heavenly mansions; or perhaps there is a public thanksgiving for prosperity, or some distribution of reward; or perhaps this is the time for the assembly of Brahmans; or perhaps the people of this city have heard of my fame, and reported that I am coming, and so desire all the Brahmans to hold a disputation with me; and yet there is no one here who seems to recognize me, or to do me reverence.' Then I¹ asked a man I met, and said, 'My good fellow, why is this city so beautifully adorned and decorated?' To which he replied, 'Most learned youth, is it possible that you have not heard that Dipaṅkara Buddha Tathâgata, etc., has lately expressed a desire to come to this city of Paduma, to declare the Law and

¹ The Legend is now narrated in the first person, as Megha is one with Sâkya Buddha in a former birth.

convert the people, and that on his account all these preparations are being made, and that our King Satruñjaya has ordered all the people to assist in advancing these decorations, and so the inhabitants, wishing to promote their own merit and to honour Dipaṅkara, have adorned the city as you see ?'

"At this time, Ananda ! I remembered that in our Law it is thus written, 'Whatever man possesses the thirty-two signs of supereminent beauty, he will either be a Chakravarti or else a Buddha, of this there can be no doubt.'

"Then, Ananda ! I thought thus, 'I will go straight to the resting place (and examine and see, and if satisfied I will) worship and offer an offering to this Dipaṅkara Buddha, and ask for myself that in future time I may arrive at the same state of perfection, then afterwards I will go and present my offering to my master the Brahmachâri.'

"Then again I reflected thus, 'What sacrifice can I offer to this Buddha, and by what means can I increase in myself the seeds of virtue?' Then I considered that all the Buddhas, honoured of men, desire not offerings of money, but only such holy donations as are prescribed in the Law, and that I as yet had no acquaintance with the true meaning of the Law. Nevertheless, I thought I will go and seek to purchase the most beautiful flower I can find, and then offer it to him with the prayer 'that in future time I also may become a Buddha.' Forthwith I went to a hair-dresser's house, and spoke thus to him, 'Sir, can you sell me that flower?' Whereupon he replied to me thus, 'Respectable youth, is it possible that you have not heard of the orders given by our King Satruñjaya that "whatever chaplets of flowers there are in the city that not one of these shall on any account be sold, because the King himself desires to obtain all such flowers to present them to Buddha"?' On hearing this, I went again and again to the different hair-dressing shops, to try and purchase a wreath of flowers; but in vain, for I got from them no other answer than that I had before received, and could obtain none. Then, as I passed from street to street, making every private inquiry to accomplish my end,

I chanced to see a dark-clad water girl, whose name was Bhadrâ, secretly take a seven-stalked Utpala flower and put it inside her water pitcher, and then go onwards upon her way. Seeing this I was greatly rejoiced, and forthwith went up to her, and said, 'What are you going to do with that Utpala flower which I saw you put in your pitcher? I will give you 500 gold pieces for it if you will sell it to me.' Whereupon the girl replied, 'Virtuous youth, have you not heard that Dipaṅkara Buddha, honoured of men, Tathâgata, etc., is now about to enter the city in consequence of the King's invitation? For so it is, that Satruṅjaya, our King, has conceived a peculiar reverence for him; and being desirous to establish firmly in himself some ground of merit, has issued orders to all within the city and twelve yôjanas round it, that whatever scented unguents or flowers there be, on no account should these be sold to any private individual, as the King himself would buy up all for the purpose of presenting them (to Buddha). Now in our neighbourhood there is a certain hair-dresser called Satrusaha; he has a wife who privately took from me 500 pieces of money, and gave me in return this seven-stalked flower; and the reason why I thus transgressed the edict of the King was because I wanted very much to make an offering to Dipaṅkara Buddha Tathâgata, etc., and was unable except in this way to obtain the means of accomplishing my wish.'

"Then I addressed the girl again, and said, 'My good girl, the explanation you have just given, and made known to me, will justify you in taking my 500 gold pieces, and giving me five stalks of the Utpala flower, and keeping two yourself.' Then the young girl replied, 'Respectable youth, what will you do with the flowers if I give them to you?' Then I replied, 'It is a difficult thing to see a living Buddha (Tathâgata), and difficult to meet with him when born. Having now the good fortune to encounter Dipaṅkara, I wish to buy this flower to honour him therewith, and to sow for myself some seeds of merit, that hereafter I may arrive at the condition of perfection also.'

"Then the young girl spake to me thus again, 'I perceive

from your external appearance, and also from the qualifications of your mind, so resolute in your love of the Law, that you will certainly hereafter obtain complete enlightenment. Mânava! if you will promise me that up to the time of your perfection in every successive birth you will take me as your wife, and that if you arrive at perfection you will permit me to follow you as a disciple, and devote myself to obtain the condition of a Rahat in your retinue of followers,—if you will promise me this,—then I will give you five stalks of this Utpala flower; but if you will not make such a promise, I will not give them to you.’

“Then I replied, ‘My good girl, I am of the Brahman caste, perfectly pure, and thoroughly conversant with the four Vedas (or discourses of the Vedas, or perhaps Vedangas). In these Vedas it is thus said, “If a man wishes to obtain perfection or the condition of a Bôdhisatwa, then that man should nourish in himself a principle of love and pity for all creatures, and seek his object in perfect tranquillity whatever may betide him, so that he should not even grudge to sacrifice his body, but be ready to give it up for the sake of men, and much more (to give up) his wife and his children, his maidens and his riches, not to desire to retain them for a moment.” My good girl, I now desire and pray that I may obtain supreme wisdom, prompted by my desire to give peace and joy to all creatures; and therefore in pity for them, if a man should come and ask of me my wife and children as a sacrifice, and you through any love to me should throw an obstacle in the way, then you would break my heart, and my vow would be unfulfilled; whilst you, on your part, would be exceedingly guilty. But if you also will promise and vow that through all time you will make no difficulty in letting me give up everything I possess in charity, then I will enter into a contract with you that you shall ever be my wife.’

“Then she replied to me thus, ‘Mânava! suppose there came a person to your side, and begged my body of you, I would not grudge to give myself up, much less would I grudge children or riches.’ Then I said, ‘Let it be even so then; according to your vow I promise through future time

to have you as my wife.' Then that maiden received from me the 500 gold pieces, and gave to me the five stalks of the Utpala flower. 'The other two stalks,' she said, 'offer for my sake, that we may together have the same destiny.' Adding this, 'You wish now to establish a ground of merit for yourself: take these two flowers also, and offer them for my sake, and pray that we may be ever born together and not separated through lapse of days.'

"Then Dipaṅkara Buddha began to enter the city Paduma from without, whereupon I, taking in my hands these seven stalks of the Utpala (five in one and two in the other), beheld from far Buddha approaching,¹ his body beautiful and upright, shining with splendor and grace, his mind calm and at rest, his senses collected and peaceful as a glassy lake; thus with steps like the king of the elephants, he advanced, surrounded by countless disciples and Devas, who scattered around him endless flowers of every variety and scented perfumes. Then Satruñjaya Rāja, accompanied by the four sorts of military escort, proceeded from the gates of the city to meet Dipaṅkara Buddha. At this time the concourse of people was simply innumerable, with all sorts of diverse beings, Kinnaras, Kumbhandas, and Dragons, who brought flowers and every sort of scented wood, and scattered them above the person of this Tathâgata. These flowers, instead of falling to the earth, formed a canopy over the head of Dipaṅkara, moving with him as he went, and standing still as he rested. Then, on witnessing this, I conceived much reverence in my heart for the person of Buddha, and taking the seven stalks of the Utpala flower, I cast them above Dipaṅkara, making this vow, 'If in future time I shall become Buddha, and teach the Law just as this Buddha, and receive the reverence of all men in like manner, then let these flowers remain in mid-air, the leaves hanging downwards and the flowers standing upwards, crowning the canopy that shades the head of Buddha, and moves as he moves, and

¹ There can be no doubt, I should suppose, that this legend is intended to be perpetuated on the right hand pillar of plate L., "Tree and Serpent Worship." The Legend is alluded to by Fahien (*Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 43).

rests as he rests.' And so it was, when I beheld this portent fulfilled, that I conceived much faith in my heart as well as reverence.

"Ananda! at this time the countless multitudes of people were spreading their priceless garments in the way, made of Kāsikā (wool of Kāsi), fine white wool, etc.; they covered the earth with them completely. Then I, Ananda! seeing this, and having on me only a deer-skin doublet, I took this off to spread on the ground. Then all the people in anger took my poor garment from the place where it lay and dragged it away and flung it on one side; whilst I in grief thought, 'Alas for me! Will not the world-honoured Dipaṅkara pity my case and think of me in my distress?' No sooner had I thought thus, than Buddha, knowing my heart, took pity on me. Accordingly, by his Divine power, he caused to appear on the ground as it were a portion of the road covered with mud,¹ on which those men in astonishment looked at one another, but not one of them entered the muddy place to help Dipaṅkara across. Then I, after some thought, spread out my skin garment on the muddy spot, and undoing my hair, covered the garment with my hair, so that Buddha might cross over in perfect comfort, as on a bridge. So, none of the people having put their foot on this covering, Buddha first crossed over, and then I made a vow, 'Oh, that all the disciples might likewise pass across!' And then I prayed again that I might in future ages become a Buddha, even as Dipaṅkara, possessed of the same miraculous power, and worshipped alike by gods and men; and then I vowed again if Dipaṅkara does not now give me a prediction of becoming Buddha, I will not rise from out this mud, but I will remain even as I am. Then the earth quaked six times (in prospect of the coming prediction, and in consequence of the earnestness of my vow)."

[Dipaṅkara then passes over, but permits none of the

¹ This fable is alluded to in Julien, ii. 97. I think the left hand pillar, plate L., "Tree and Serpent Worship," represents Gôpâla (or rather Gôpî) with her dishes of cream; whilst the central figure represents the dragon Gôpâla. *Vide* Jul. ii. 99.

Bhikshus to follow on the same path. He then predicts that Megha will become a Buddha (Sākya Muni), on condition that he leaves all his wealth, shaves his head, and follows him as a disciple. Then Megha ascended into the air the distance of seven Tāla-trees, and did reverence to Dipaṅkara.]

[These Legends, when all are translated, will explain many obscure references in Buddhist literature, and also throw some light on the rise of Romance literature in Europe. I have not added any explanatory notes to the above translation, as I hope to be able to publish the entire work from the Chinese.]-S. B.

ART. XV.—*Note on Art. IX., antè pp. 213–274, on Hiouen-Thsang's Journey from Patna to Ballabhi.* By JAMES FERGUSSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.

SINCE the above paper was printed off, it has occurred to me that the Konkanapoura mentioned at page 266 has nothing whatever to do with the Concans now below the Ghâts, as I was inclined to think was possible, but may have been the capital of the Kongadesa or Chera kingdom, which we know, at the period of Hiouen-Thsang's visit, was one of the three great kingdoms occupying the south of the peninsula.¹

The most northern capital of this kingdom we are acquainted with was Tâlakâd, east of Seringapatam; but their dominions extended northward beyond this, as the seventh king of this race, certainly before Hiouen-Thsang's time, ruled over the greater portion of Karnâta; and it is said, "Muganda Pattana, at which the twenty-first and twenty-second kings are said to have resided, was, according to the introductory note, 48 miles north-east from Seringapatam,"²—no great distance from the locality where I have placed Konkanapoura; but their residence at Hiouen-Thsang's time may have been anywhere well within their dominions. There is therefore every probability that the capital of the Konga kingdom in the seventh century may have been at least as far north as I have placed it, but by no power of stretching can it be shown that the permanent dominions of the Cheras extended northward beyond the limit of the present Mysore kingdom. Though, therefore, this identification may not help us much in fixing the site of Konkanapoura, it seems fatal to the idea of Conjeveram being the Kantchipura of the Pilgrim. Any place 2000 *li* north-west from that city would fall beyond the Tungabhadra river, and therefore quite outside the Kongadesa; but starting from Nâgapatam, the route is perfectly intelligible, and may be considered certain within very narrow limits.

¹ Wilson's Maackenzie MSS. i., p. 199, *et seqq.* Dowson, in J.R.A.S., VIII., p. 1, *et seqq.* Taylor, Analysis, Madras Journal, etc.

² J.R.A.S., VIII., p. 14.

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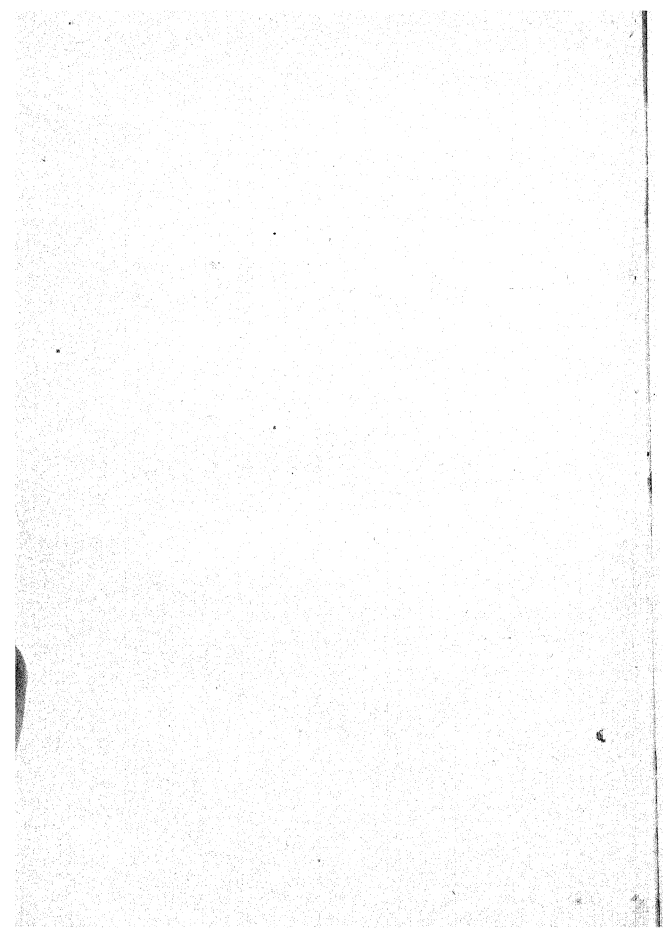
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